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ALDO MANUTIO.

LEO THE TENTH.

THE

LIFE

AND

PONTIFICATE

OF

LEO THE TENTH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

VOL. II.

Quanti alpestri sentier, quanti palustri
Narrerò io, di morte e sangue pieni,
Pe'l variar de' regni e stati illustri!
Machiavelli, Decennale. i.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AT THE LORENZO PRESS OF E. BRONSON.
1806.

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DISSERTATION

ON THE CHARACTER OF LUCRETIA BORGIA.

IF the Lucretia of ancient history has been considered as the glory of her sex, the Lucretia of modern Rome has been alleged as an example of its disgrace and its shame. From her own times to the present, her depravity is on historical record; yet many circumstances concur to raise considerable doubts in the mind of an impartial inquirer, whether the horrible accusations under which her memory labours be well founded. Amidst the licentiousness that characterized the age in which she lived, the most flagrant charges acquire a probability which they could not in another period obtain; and among the vices of the times, calumny and falsehood have in general been at least as active as the rest.

To

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To the present day Lucretia is, for the most part, only known as the incestuous daughter of Alexander VI. the prostitute, in common, of her father and of her two brothers; one of whom is supposed to have assassinated the other from jealousy of his superiour pretensions to her favour. If nothing more had been recorded respecting her than the charges of her accusers, we must have submitted to receive their information as true; with those doubts only which the abominable nature of the accusation must always inspire. But Lucretia Borgia is known, from other sources of information, to have been a woman of great accomplishments, as well of mind as of person, and to have passed the chief part of her life in an eminent station, not only without reproach, but with the highest honour and esteem. If the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots, how are we to conceive it possible, that the person who had, during so many years of her life, been sunk into the lowest depths of guilt and of infamy, could at once emerge to respectability and to virtue? The history of mankind furnishes no instances of such a rapid change; and we are therefore naturally led to inquire upon what evidences such charges have been made; and as from their nature it can scarcely be supposed that they are capable either of positive proof, or of positive refutation, we must be satisfied to form our belief according to the best evidence of probability.

That

That accusations of this nature were brought against Lucretia early in life, and during the pontificate of her father, there is great reason to believe. The first traces of them appear in the writings of the Neapolitan poets, who being exasperated against Alexander VI. for the active part which he had taken in the expulsion of the house of Aragon, placed no limits to their resentment. [a] These imputations might, however, scarcely have deserved a serious reply, had they not received additional credit from the pen of the distinguished historian Guicciardini, who informs us, that "it was rumoured, that not only the two brothers, but even "the father were rivals for the love of Lucretia." [b]

By

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[a] Thus Pontano, in an epitaph for Lucretia Borgia, who, however, survived him upwards of twenty years.

"Hic jacet in tumulo, Lucretia nomine, sed re
"Thais. Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus."

And Sanazzaro thus addresses her:

"Ergo te semper cupiet, Lucretia, Sextus.
"O fatum diri numinis, hic Pater est."

And this supposed intercourse is also frequently alluded to, in other parts of the works of the last mentioned writer.

[b] "Era medesimamente fama, se però è degno di cre-
"dersi tanta enormità, che nell' amor di Madonna Lucretia,
"concorressino non solamente i dui fratelli ma eziandio il
"padre medesimo." *Guicc. Storia d' Ital. lib.* iii. 1. 182.

By these rumours it is probable that he alludes to the writings of the Neapolitan poets, with whose works, it is to be remarked, he was well acquainted, as appears from the manner in which he refers to the small river Sebeto, near Naples, so frequently the theme of their applause.[c]

These authorities have been considered as sufficient grounds for future historians to assert the guilt of Lucretia in the most explicit terms; nor have even the writers of the Romish church hesitated to express their conviction of her criminality in the most unqualified manner, and the tale of her infamy has accordingly been admitted into general compilations and biographical dictionaries as undoubted matter of fact.[d] It can therefore occasion no surprise, that the protestant authors have frequently expatiated on a subject which, as they suppose, reflects such disgrace on the Roman see. In the writings of Henry Stephens,[e] of Bale,[f] and of Gordon,[g] this accusation forms a conspicuous feature;

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c " Il piccolo più presto rio che fiumicello, chiamato " *Sebeto;* incognito a ciascuno se non gli havessino dato " nome i versi de' poeti Napolitani." *ib. p.* 113.

v. Moreri, Dict. Hist. Art. Cæsar Borgia, &c.

e *Apologie pour Herodote. liv.* i. *p.* 559. *Ed.* 1692.

f *Pageant of popes. p.* 173. *Ed.* 1574.

g *Life of Alex. VI. and his son Cesar Borgia. p.* 271, *&c.*

feature; nor is it less decisively admitted by the discriminating Gibbon in his antiquities of the House of Brunswick.[h] "In the next generation," says this author, "the House of Este was sullied by "a sanguinary and incestuous race; by the nuptials "of Alfonso I. with Lucretia, a bastard of Alexander "VI. the Tiberius of christian Rome. This modern "Lucretia might have assumed with more pro- "priety the name of Messalina; since the woman "who can be guilty, who can even be accused, of "a criminal intercourse with a father and two bro- "thers, must be abandoned to all the licentious- "ness of venal love."

Such being the evidence on which these charges have been generally believed, it may now be proper to state such circumstances as may throw additional light on the subject. This will perhaps be most effectually done, by taking a brief review of the principal circumstances in the life of Lucretia, as far as they can be collected from the writings of her contemporaries; and by comparing her conduct and character, as it is represented by those to whom she was well known, and by whom she was highly respected, with her conduct and character as represented by those, who have, either directly or indirectly, countenanced imputations against her of so detestable a nature.

Before

[h] *In the second vol. of his Posthumous Works. p.* 689.

Before the elevation of Alexander VI. his daughter Lucretia, not being then of marriageable age, had been betrothed to a Spanish gentleman; [i] but on his obtaining the pontificate, he dissolved the engagement, apparently with the ambitious view of forming a higher connexion. On the twelfth day of June, 1493, being in the first year of her father's pontificate, she was accordingly married to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, a grandson of the brother of the great Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan.[j] With him she resided till the year 1497, when some dissensions having arisen between her and her husband, she quitted him, and the pope afterwards dissolved the marriage; "not being able," as Guicciardini asserts, "to bear even a husband as "a rival, and having proved, by suborned evi- "dence, before judges delegated by himself, that "Giovanni was impotent." [k] This separation gave rise to a disagreement between the pope and Sforza, in consequence of which, the latter was in danger of being deprived of his dominions, which he preserved only by resorting to the Venetians for assistance. [l]

If

[i] *Nardi Hist. Fior. lib.* iv. *p.* 75.

[j] "Le nozze con gran solennità ma con poco onestà "furono celebrate nel pontificio palazzo nel dì 12 di Giugno "1493." *Murat. Annal. d'Italia* ix. 569.

[k] *Guicciard. Storia d'Italia, lib.* xiii. *v.* i. *p.* 182.

[l] *Murat. Annali. v.* ix. *p.* 590.

If the reason given by Guicciardini, for the interference of the pope on this occasion, be the true one, he soon changed his mind, having shortly after entered into a treaty for a marriage between his daughter and Alfonso, duke of Bisaglia, a natural son of Alfonso II. king of Naples.[m] This marriage was celebrated in the year 1498, and the pope conferred on his daughter the perpetual government of the dutchy of Spoleto, and invested her with the territory of Sermoneta, of which he had shortly before deprived the family of Gaetani.[n] The offspring of this marriage was a son, who was born in the month of October, 1499, and named after the pontiff, Roderigo.[o] The attention paid by

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[m] "His diebus venit ad Urbem Illustrissimus Dominus "Alfonsus de Arragonia, Dux Bisiliarum, Princeps Saler- "nitanus, filius naturalis divæ memoriæ Alfonsi secundi de "Arragonia regis Neapolitani, septemdecim annos natus "vel circa, futurus maritus Lucretiæ Borgia, filiæ carissi "mæ S. D. N. uxoris olim Johannis Sforziæ Domini Pi- "sauri; qui non fuit receptus vel associatus publica pompa, "sed tamen a quibusdam particularibus, per papam sibi "obviam missis." *Burchard, Diar. ap. Gordon.*

[n] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, ix. 601.

[o] "Feria quinta, ultima Octobris circa horam nonam, "Domina Lucretia Papæ filia, peperit filium masculum, "quod, ut dictum fuit, de mandato Papæ omnibus cardi- "nalibus et oratoribus et aliis amicis ad eorum domos ante "diem est nuntiatum; fuerunt propterea nuntiantibus do- "nati per singulos cardinales et oratores ducati duo, ac plus "vel

by Alexander to the education of this child, has been considered as a presumptive proof, that he stood related to him in a still nearer character than that which he avowed;[p] but when it is recollected, that this son was the future hope of an ambitious and aspiring family, and detached from all criminality, was allied to the pontiff by the near claims of consanguinity, there seems no need to resort to other motives to explain the conduct of Alexander on this occasion. From the explicit evidence of Burchard, who appears to have intruded himself into the most secret transactions of the apostolick palace, we may exonerate the pontiff and his daughter from this heinous charge, and allow that there are good grounds to admit, that Alfonso of Aragon was the father of the child.[q]

The unfortunate husband did not, however, long survive this event. In the month of June, 1500, he was attacked on the steps, before the great door of the church of S. Pietro, by a band of assassins, by whom he was dangerously wounded. That the

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" vel minus prout placuit donanti." *Burch. Diar. ap. Gordon.*

[p] *Gordon's Life of Alexander VI. p.* 271.

[q] " Contraxit deinde post paucos dies matrimonium per " verba de presenti cum ipsa Lucretia; *illudque carnali co-* " *pulatione consummavit.*" *Diar. Burch. ap. Gordon.*

the perpetrators of this crime were persons of rank, may be conjectured from their having been escorted out of the gates of Rome by a body of forty horsemen, who protected them in their flight.[r] Alfonso, yet living, was conveyed into a chamber in the apostolick palace, where he struggled with the consequences of his wounds upwards of two months, and, as Burchard asserts, was then strangled in his bed. The physicians who had attended him, and a person who had waited on him during his confinement, were apprehended and examined, but were soon afterwards liberated.[s] The death of

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[r] " Feria quindecima mensis Junii circa horam primam " noctis Illustrissimus Dominus Alphonsus de Arragonia, " Dux Bisiliarum, Maritus Dominæ Lucretiæ Filiæ papæ, " supra planum scalarum Basilicæ Sancti Petri ante pri- " mum introitum versus Basilicam prædictam, per plures " personas aggressus fuit, et in capite et brachio dextro et " crure graviter vulneratus. Invasores effugerunt per " scalam Sancti Petri ubi circiter quadraginta Equites eos " expectarunt, cum quibus equitarunt extra portam pertu- " sam." *Diar. Burch. ap. Gordon.*

[s] " Feria tertia, octava decima Mensis Augusti, Al- " phonsus de Arragonia Dux Bisiliarum et princeps Saler- " nitanus, qui in sero diei quindecimi Mensis *Julii* proximè " preteriti, graviter fuit vulneratus, et deinde ad Turrim " nonam supra cantinam Papæ in Horto majori palatii apud " Sanctum Petrum portatus est, et diligentur custoditus, " *cum non vellet hujusmodi vulneribus mori, in lecto suo fuit* " *strangulatus.* Circa horam primam noctis portatum fuit cadaver

of Alfonso, like that of the duke of Gandia, has been attributed to Cesar Borgia, but with no other evidence than that which arises from presumptions, founded on the general atrocity of his character, and his supposed criminal attachment to his sister; to which it has been added, that the new connexions which he had formed with Lewis XII. operated as an inducement with him, to terminate his alliance with a family which he had already devoted to destruction.[t]

A few days after the death of Alfonso, his widow, who has never been accused of having had any share in this horrid transaction, retired for some time to Nepi, for the purpose of indulging her

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" cadaver ad Basilicam S. Petri et ibidem in Capella Beatæ " Mariæ de febribus depositum. Capti fuerunt & ad Cas- " trum S. Angeli ducti Medici defuncti & quidam gibbosus, " qui ejus curam habere consueverat & contra eos inqui- " sitio facta: liberati postea fuerunt." *Burch. Diar. ap. Gordon.*

[t] Guicciardini expressly asserts, that the husband of Lucretia, whom he calls Gismondo, was assassinated by Cesar Borgia, " il quale era stato ammazzato dal Duca " Valentino," and Muratori informs us, that Alfonso was first wounded, and afterwards poisoned, and that Cesar Borgia was supposed to be the perpetrator of the crime; to which he was instigated by his attachment to the French, and his aversion to the family of Aragon. *v. Annali d'Italia vol.* ix. *p.* 606.

her grief.[u] On her return to Rome, she was intrusted, during the absence of the pope, with the management of publick affairs, for which purpose she was empowered to open all letters addressed to the pontiff, and directed, in cases of difficulty, to consult with some of the cardinals in the confidence of the pope. We may agree with Muratori, that this mode of government conferred but little honour on the pontiff[v] but we can scarcely admit it as a proof, as some have been willing to assume, of an incestuous intercourse between the father and the daughter.[w] To a short time subsequent to this period, we may, however, refer those abominable scenes of lewdness, which are said to have been transacted within the precincts of the apostolick palace, and which, however incredible, are recorded by Burchard, not only without a comment, but with

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[u] "Feria secunda, ultima Augusti Domina Lucretia "olim de Arragonia Filia Papæ recessit ab urbe, itura ad "civitatem Nepesinam, associata a sexcentessimis equitibus "vel circa, ut caperet aliquam consolationem propter dolo- "rem et conturbationem quam habuit diebus præteritis "propter obitum illustrissimi domini Alfonsi de Arragonia "Ducis Bisiliarum, &c. mariti sui." *Burch. Diar. ap. Gordon.*

[v] "Questa maniera di Governo, se facesse onore al "Papa, poco ci vuole per conoscerlo."
Murat. Annal. x. 7.

[w] *Gordon's Life of Alexander VI. p.* 173, &c.

with as much indifference as if they were only the usual occurrences of the day.[x] But it is highly important to our present subject to observe, that throughout the whole narrative of this loquacious master of the papal ceremonies, who seems on no occasion to have concealed what might disgrace either his superiours or himself, there appears not the most distant insinuation of that criminal intimacy between Alexander and his daughter, or between her and her brothers, which if he had known or suspected it to have existed, it is not likely, from the tenour of other parts of his narrative, that he would have been inclined wholly to conceal.

However

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[x] Dominica ultima mensis Octrobris in sero fecerunt "cœnam cum Duce Valentinensi in camera sua in Palatio "Apostolico, quinquaginta Meretrices honestæ, Cortegi- "anæ nuncupatæ, quæ post cœnam chorearunt, cum servi- "toribus et aliis ibidim existentibus, primo in vestibus "suis, deinde nudæ. Post cœnam posita fuerunt candelabra "communia mensæ cum candelis ardentibus, & projectæ "ante candelabra per terram castaneæ, quas meretrices "ipsæ super manibus et pedibus nudæ, candelabra per- "transeuntes colligebant; Papa, Duce, & Lucretia sorore "sua, præsentibus & aspicientibus. Tandem exposita "dona ultima, diploides de serico, paria caligarum, bireta "et alia, pro illis qui plures dictas meretrices carnaliter "agnoscerunt, quæ fuerunt ibidem in aula publicè carnali- "ter tractatæ, arbitrio præsentium, & dona distributa vic- "toribus."

Burchard. Diar. ap. Gord.

However this may be, the pope, who never for a moment lost sight of the aggrandizement of his family, in the latter part of the year 1501, entered into a negotiation for uniting Lucretia in marriage to Alfonso of Este, the son of Ercole, duke of Ferrara. This connexion was highly flattering to the house of Borgia, as well from the elevated rank of the husband, who was expected shortly to take a respectable station among the sovereigns of Italy, as from his personal character, which had already given rise to expectations, that his future conduct abundantly confirmed.[y] In accounting for a union which has in later times been considered as degrading to the family of Este, some have been inclined to attribute it to the advantageous proposals made by the pope, who, besides an immense sum which he expended in jewels and apparel, gave to his daughter on her marriage one hundred thousand gold crowns, and accompanied them with the grant of the territories of Cento and Pieve; whilst others have conjectured, that the princes of Este were rather terrified than allured to such a measure, by their apprehensions from the ambition, rapacity, or resentment of the family of Borgia.[z] The marriage ceremony was performed

[y] "Principe glorioso nel mondo," says Muratori "che "in senno e valore ebbe pochi pari al suo tempo." *Annali*, *vol.* x. *p.* 262.

[z] *Nardi, Hist. Fior. p.* 75.

ed at Rome on the nineteenth day of December, 1501, with circumstances of uncommon magnificence, which are related by Burchard, with great minuteness.[a] Her journey thence to Ferrara, and her

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" The marriage articles were signed," says Mr. Gibbon *(Antiq. of Brunswick, in posth. works, vol.* ii. *p.* 689,) " and " as the bed of Lucretia was *not then vacant*, her third " husband, a royal bastard of Naples, was first stabbed, " and afterwards strangled in the Vatican." This is not founded on historical fact, nor as far as I know, asserted by any other writer; the treaty for the marriage with Alfonso of Este, not having taken place till upwards of twelve months after the death of her former husband.

[a] " Feria quarta, nona Decembris, Tibicines et omnia " musicorum instrumenta, parata in plano, super scalas " S. Petri, inceperunt magna vehementia sonare, singuli " instrumenta sua, propè domum Dominæ Lucretiæ, juxta " Basilicam S. Petri. Exivit ipsa Domina Lucretia, in " vestibus brocati auri, circumdatis, more hispanico, cum " longa cauda, quam quædam puellæ deferebant; ipsa " Domina Lucretia media inter Ferdinandum a dextris, " et Sigismundum a sinistris, Fratres mariti sui. Seque- " bantur circiter quinquaginta Romanæ pulchrè vestitæ, " & post illas Pedissequæ Dominæ Lucretiæ, et ascende- " runt ad primam aulam Paulinam, super portam Palatii " ubi erat Papa, cum tredecim Cardinalibus & Duce Va- " lentinensi; finito sermone, fuit posita ante Papam quæ- " dam mensa sive tabula ad quam accederunt Ferdinandus " Frater et Procurator Sponsi, et Domina Lucretia, cui " ipse Ferdinandus procuratorio nomine Fratris sui, im- " posuit quemdam annulum aureum, sive gemmam. Ap- " portati deinde fuerunt per Cardinalem Estensem etiam " Fratrem

her splendid entry into that city, on the second day of February, 1502, are dwelt upon at great length by contemporary writers, whose narratives exhibit a curious picture of the manners of the age.[b]

At this period of the life of Lucretia, when she was finally removed from the Roman court to the city of Ferrara, which became her residence during the remainder of her life, some reflections occur on her past conduct. That the daughter of Alexander VI. young, beautiful, and accomplished, educated in the midst of a luxurious city and a profligate court, might, on all occasions, have escaped the general contagion, will not perhaps be readily believed; but with respect to the incestuous intercourse, of which she has been so generally accused, the circumstances of her life and conduct

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" Fratrem Sponsi quatuor alii annuli magni valoris, et appor-
" tata una capsa super dictam mensam posita, et de manda-
" to prædicti Cardinalis aperta, qui extraxit ex ea multa
" collaria, sive torques, pulcherrimis lapidibus pretiosis et
" margaritis ornatos. Item quatuor pulcherrimæ bruces,
" &c. oblata Sponsæ per Cardinalem Estensem, verbis or-
" natissimis. His factis retraxit se Papa ad sequentem
" aulam sive cameram Paulinam quem secuta est Domina
" Lucretia cum mulieribus. &c."

[b] *v. Descrittione della nozza di Lucretia figliuola di Alessandro VI. ed Alfonso d' Este, inter Muratori, Rerum Ital. Script. vol.* xxvii. *p.* 398.

conduct afford no evidence; on the contrary, the anxiety of her father, to avail himself of the first opportunity of uniting her to another husband, must be considered as a strong indication, that his own attachment to her was not of the criminal nature before referred to. Were it also to be granted, that the family of Este was induced to accede to this marriage by the allurements and persuasions, or was terrified into it by the dread of the vengeance of the pontiff, it must still require a considerable portion of credulity to believe, that either Ercole, duke of Ferrara, or Alfonso his son, who were distinguished by their virtues and their talents, both civil and military, beyond any of the sovereigns of the time, would have submitted to have perpetuated their race through the contaminated blood of a known and incestuous prostitute.

The arrival of Lucretia at Ferrara, gave a new impulse to those studies and literary amusements, by which that place had been so long distinguished. Among the many men conspicuous by their talents and their learning, who at this time frequented the court, was the celebrated Pietro Bembo. He had accompanied his father, who had visited that city in a respectable publick character, and the attractions which he had met with in the literary society of the place, had induced him to prolong his residence there. The reputation which Bembo had already obtained by his writings, and perhaps his personal

personal address and accomplishments, early introduced him to the notice of the dutchess, who received him with that freedom and affability for which the Italian courts were then remarkable. At this time Bembo was about thirty years of age, and it appears from his letters, that he had twice been the slave of an amorous but unsuccessful passion. The extraordinary beauty, the various endowments, the vivacity, and condescension of the dutchess, were attractions too powerful for him to resist, and there is reason to believe, that Lucretia Borgia was destined to complete that amorous servitude of three lustres, or fifteen years, of which he frequently complains. The epistolary correspondence of Bembo, contains several letters addressed to the dutchess of Ferrara, to which she frequently replied.[c] But although it might be presumed from her

[c] In the Ambrosian library, at Milan, a manuscript is said to exist, which contains nine letters, in the hand writing of Lucretia, seven of which are in Italian, and two in Spanish; and at the close, a copy of verses, also in Spanish, all of which are addressed to Bembo. These letters appear to have been folded in the form of billets, and are superscribed, *Al mio carissimo M. Pietro Bembo.* The writer denominates herself *Lucretia Estense da Borgia*, and the seals of the arms of Este and Borgia are appended to them. At the close of the volume is a canzone in Spanish, of the composition and hand writing of Bembo, and in a folding of white vellum, tied with four ribbands, is a lock of light coloured hair, such as Bembo has frequently described

her letters, that she was not wholly insensible to the passion of her admirer, by whose attentions, it is probable she was highly flattered, yet it must be observed, that Mazzuchelli, one of the most judicious criticks that Italy has produced, considers this attachment as having been regulated by sentiments of propriety and honour; [d] nor is it indeed likely, that a friendly epistolary intercourse would have been continued for so long a time after the termination of a connexion, which could never have been recollected by either of the parties without sentiments of compunction and of shame. In the letters of Bembo to the dutchess of Ferrara, which extend from the year 1503, to the year 1516, he at some times communicates to her his own sorrows, and at others congratulates her on the birth of her children; but the warmth of the lover, if it ever existed, soon gave place to the respect of

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scribed in his poems, and which by constant tradition, has been believed to be that of Lucretia Borgia. From the description of this singular relick, it decidedly appears, that this book formerly belonged to Bembo, who has minuted with his own hand, the dates of the letters, and had probably inserted them in this volume, as a memorial of what he considered as the most elevated and honourable attachment of his early years *Dissertazione del Dott. Baldassare Oltrocchi sopra i primi amori di Pietro Bembo. Racolta d'opuscoli di Calogerà. vol* iv. *p.* 1.

[d] *Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. in art. Lucretia Borgia.*

of a friend, and the introduction of frequent apologies for his neglect, or omissions, clearly indicates that he had long relinquished that character, which on their first acquaintance, he appears to have been willing to assume.

The attachment of Bembo to Lucretia Borgia, was not, however, so cautiously concealed, as to have escaped the notice of his friends, the two Strozzi, with whom he lived at Ferrara on terms of the utmost intimacy, and at whose villa, in the vicinity of that city, he passed a considerable portion of his time. Tito, the father, has recorded this passion in an enigmatical epigram, which it is not now difficult to explain, [e] and Ercole the son, in confiding to Bembo his own amours, adjures him to conceal them with the same secrecy, with which he has himself preserved those intrusted to him by the confidence of his friend. [f]

From

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[e] " Si mutetur in X. C. tertia nominis hujus
" Litera, *Lux* fiet, quod modo *Luc* fuerat
" *Retia* subsequitur, cui tu *hæc* subjunge, *paratque* ;
" Sic scribens, *Lux hæc retia*, Bembe, *parat*."

[f] " At tu, Bembe, meos quem non celare calores
" Debueram, tanti semina disce mali.
" Fas uni tibi nosse, decem quæ me usserit annos,
" Quæque meo jussit corde latere faces.
" Hanc tamen obtestor, ne te sciat indice quisquam ;
" Graia tibi servet sic *Telesilla* fidem.

" Sic

From this period, the conduct of Lucretia Borgia, during the remainder of her life, being an interval of upwards of twenty years, was not only without reproach, but in the highest degree commendable and exemplary. Amidst the disturbances which agitated Italy, and which frequently threatened Ferrara with destruction, she was intrusted by the duke, during those warlike expeditions in which he so eminently distinguished himself, with the government of the state; in which she conducted herself so as to obtain, not only the approbation of her husband, but the respect and affection of his subjects. By Alfonso she was the mother of three sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the government of the state of Ferrara, by the name of Ercole II.[g] Towards the close of her life,

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" Sic mihi, quæ dixti, cunctos celentur in annos ;
" Nullaque non felix sic eat hora tibi."
Strozz. fil. Amor. p. 72.

g " Alfonso I." says Mr. Gibbon, " *believed himself* to " be the father of three sons. The eldest, his successour, " Hercules II. expiated this maternal stain by a nobler " choice, and his *fidelity* was rewarded by mingling the " blood of Este with that of France." *Antiq. of the House of Brunswick, in posth. works, vol.* ii. *p.* 689. The doubt which Mr. Gibbon has implied respecting the legitimacy of the eldest son, involves the historian in some degree of inconsistency. For, if Hercules was not *in fact* the offspring of Alfonso, how can he be said to have mingled the blood of *Este* with that of France ?

life, she became severely rigid in her religious duties, and devoted herself to works of benevolence and piety. From the official letters of Leo X. it appears, that she had applied to that pontiff, soon after his elevation, for his spiritual advice and consolation, which he conceded to her in the fullest terms, with high commendations of her exemplary life. [h] It is true, that long after she had established a character beyond all just reproach, and when her father was no more, and her brother was driven from Italy, the voice of calumny did not fail to pursue her amidst the splendour of a court; and in the vindictive lines of Sanazzaro, Lucretia is the heifer that wanders disconsolate on the banks of the Po, lamenting the loss of her mate. [i] But the motives of these accusations have already been explained, and even if Sanazzaro had been more impartial, the distance of his residence from Rome, would prevent his be ingconsidered, on such an occasion, as an authentick evidence.

But

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[h] v. *Bembi Ep. nom. Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *Ep.* 3.

[i] " Juvenca, solos quæ relicta ad aggeres
" Padi sonantis, heu malum sororibus
" Omen, dolentes inter orba populos
" Te te requirit, te reflagitans suum
" Implet querelis nemus; et usque mugiens
" Modo huc, modo illuc furit, amore perdita."
Sanaz. lib. i. *Epigr.* 15.

But although the charges against Lucretia Borgia appear to be wholly unsupported, either by proof or probability, it would be unjust to her talents and her character, to close the present inquiry without adducing some of those numerous testimonies in her favour, with which the writings of the most celebrated scholars of the age so frequently abound. In this we need not rely on the applauses bestowed on her by Ercole Strozzi, or Antonio Tebaldeo, who may be considered as the poets laureate of Ferrara, the former of whom has in particular availed himself of every opportunity of resounding her praise.[j] Still less must we found our

[j] Several of the principal poems of Ercole Strozzi, as his *Venatio*, and *Gigantomachia*, are inscribed to Lucretia, whom he also thus addresses at the close of one of his elegies, in which he relinquishes all further interference in publick affairs.

" Teque meum veneror, Cœlestis Borgia, Sydus,
" Qua nullum Hesperio purius orbe micat.
" Tu mihi carmen eris, tu lucida callis ad astra,
" Quâ niveas animas lacteus orbis habet;
" Adsertæ superis, Juno, Pallasque, Venusque,
" Juno opibus, Pallas moribus, ore Venus.
" Regna tibi meliora, animique nitentior ardor,
" Plusque tua igniferi forma vigoris habet.
" Quis neget his cœlum meritis? tua numina quondam
" Neilus, et extrema Baetis honore colent.
" Templa tibi statuent, nec votis templa carebunt.
" At nostrum, inter tot grandia, majus erit."

Strozz. fil. Eleg. ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam Ferrariæ Ducem, Strozii op. p. 53.

our decision on the various poems, both in the Latin and Italian tongue, which Bembo has consecrated to her honour, because he may not be considered as an impartial judge. Yet we cannot pass unnoticed the letter, in which he inscribes to her his romance of the *Asolani*, which he completed and published at her request, and in which he addresses her "As a princess, who was more desirous "of ornamenting her mind with excellent endow-"ments, than her person with the decorations of "dress. Applying all her leisure hours to reading "or composition.—To the end," says he, "that "you may surpass other women, as much in the "charms of your understanding, as you already "do in those of external beauty, and may be better "satisfied with your own applause, than with that, "however infinite, of the rest of the world."

The historians of Ferrara, so far from supposing that the family of Este was degraded by their union with Lucretia Borgia, mention her with the highest praise. Giraldi denominates her "a woman of "uncommon excellence;"[k] and Sardi, "a most "beautiful and amiable princess, adorned with "every virtue."[l] Yet more honourable is the praise

[k] "Rarissima Donna." *Girald. Comment. delle cose di Ferrara. fo.* 181.

[l] "Donna bellissima, gentile, ed ornata d'ogni virtu." *Sardi, Historie Ferraresi. lib.* x. *fo.* 198.

praise of Libanori; who describes her as "a most "beautiful and virtuous princess, endowed with "every estimable quality of the mind, and with "the highest polish of understanding; esteemed "as the delight of the time, and the treasure of the "age."[m] Caviceo, in the year 1508, dedicated to her his work, entitled *Il Peregrino*, and adverting to the celebrated Isabella of Este, daughter of Ercole I. duke of Ferrara, and wife of Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, he conceives that he has given her sufficient praise, in asserting that she approaches next in excellence to Lucretia Borgia.[n] If the most remote idea had been entertained, that Lucretia had been the detestable character which the Neapolitan poets have represented, is it to be conceived, that this author would have introduced one of the first women in Italy, in point of rank, character, and accomplishments, as only second to her in merit?

The marriage of Lucretia, with Alfonso of Este, was celebrated in a Latin epithalamium by Ariosto;

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[m] *Mazzuchelli Scrittori d' Italia. vol.* v. *p.* 1751.

[n] "Accede alla tua eccellentia quello lume che extin-"guere non si può, di quella vera mortale Dea, Elizabetta "Estense di Gonzaga principessa Mantuana, alla quale le "Muse fanno riverentia." *Caviceo, apud. Quadrio Storia d' ogni Poesia, vol.* vii. *p.* 70.

Ariosto; but this may be considered as one of those complimentary tributes, which a youthful poet would be proud to pay to his prince. If, however, the moral character of the bride had been so notoriously disgraceful as to render her an object of abhorrence, it is scarcely to be supposed that Ariosto would have had the effrontery, or the absurdity, to represent her, as "rivalling "in the decorum of her manners, as well as in the "beauty of her person, all that former times could "boast." ° The same author has, however, on a subsequent occasion given a more decisive testimony of his approbation. In the forty-second book of his immortal poem, he has raised a temple of female excellence, the splendid niches of which are occupied by women of the greatest merit and chief distinction in Italy; and among these Lucretia Borgia assumes the first, and most conspicuous station. It is remarkable, that in the lines devoted to her praise on this occasion, the poet asserts that "Rome ought to prefer the modern Lucretia to "the Lucretia of antiquity, *as well in modesty as* "*in beauty;*" a comparison which, if the aspersions under which she has laboured, had obtained the slightest credit, could only have been considered as

° "——— clari soboles Lucretia Borgiæ,
"Pulchro ore, & pulchris æquantem moribus aut quas
"Verax fama refert, aut quas sibi fabula finxit."
Arist. Epithal. ap. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. vol. i. *p.* 344.

as the severest satire. Each of his heroines are attended by two of the most distinguished poets of Italy, as heralds of their fame; those assigned to Lucretia Borgia, are Ercole Strozzi and Antonio Tebaldeo. [p]

These commendatory testimonies might be increased to a considerable extent from the works, both in prose and verse, which have been inscribed to her by those authors to whom she afforded encourgement and protection; [q] but in addition to those

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[p] "La prima inscrittion ch' agli occhi occorre,
"Con lungo onor *Lucretia Borgia* noma:
"La cui bellezza, e onestà, preporre
"Deve a l'antica la sua patria Roma.
"I duo che voluto han sopra se torre
"Tanto eccellente ed onorata soma,
"Noma lo scritto, *Antonio Tebaldeo*,
"*Ercole Strozza;* un Lino, ed uno Orfeo."
Can. 42. *St.* 83.

[q] Antonio Cornazzano, addressed to her his Life of the Virgin, and Life of Christ, both in *terza Rima*, (*Tirab. vol.* vi. *par.* ii. *p.* 161.) And Giorgio Robusto, of Alexandria, his poems, printed at Milan, about the year 1500, (*Quadrio, v.* viii. *p.* 65.) To these I shall only add another testimony. Father Francesco Antonio Zaccharia, on examining the Jesuits' library of S. Fedele, at Milan, found a manuscript volume of poetry, the author of which, as appears by the dedication, was Luca Valenziano, of Tortona. Zaccharia imagined, that these poems were unpublished, but there is extant a rare edition of them printed at

those already adduced, it may be sufficient to cite the grave and unimpeachable testimony of one, who, from the respectability of his character, cannot be

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at Venice, by Bernardino de' Vitalî, in 1532, *8vo.* under the title of *Opere volgari di M. Luca Valenziano, Dertonese, ad istanza di Federigo di Gervasio, Napolitano.* The poems in question have great merit, particularly for their pathetick simplicity; and are dedicated in the manuscript copy, but not in the printed work, to Lucretia Borgia, in the following Latin verses:

Ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam Estensem;
Lucas Valentianus, Dertonensis.

" Quæ tibi pauca damus, tali Lucretia, fronte
" Suscipe nunc, quali grandia dona soles.
" Hæc ego dum canerem lacrymis rorantia, dixi;
" Præsideos nostræ, Borgia diva, lyræ.
" O tecum Alphonsus duri post prælia Martis,
" Otia Musarum quærere tuta velit.
" Sic Cæsar, sic Rex Macedûm, sic ille solebat,
" Africa cui nomen, victa parente, dedit.
" Hunc lege; perlectum longo ditabis honore;
" Tutus et a rabido dente libellus erit."

v. Raccolta d' Opuscoli di Calogerà, vol. xliv.

That Lucretia wrote Italian poetry is believed by Crescimbeni, who informs us that he had been assured by a person deserving of credit, and who was well acquainted with the early literature of Italy, that he had seen, in a collection of poems of the sixteenth century, several pieces attributed to her, but that notwithstanding all the researches made both at Rome and at Florence, no traces of them could now be discovered. The annotator on Crescimbeni is, however, of opinion, that if this had been the case, her works

be suspected of flattery, and who indeed, cannot be supposed to have had any other motives for his commendation, than such as he has himself assigned; the favour and assistance which she afforded to every meritorious undertaking, and to every useful art.

The person referred to, is the celebrated printer, Aldo Manuzio. From the tenour of his address to her,

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works would have been noticed by Bembo in the many letters addressed to her, or by Aldo, in his preface to the works of the two Strozzi. "She was, however," adds he, "a great patroness of literature, and by her means the "court of Ferrara abounded with men distinguished even "in foreign countries; among whom was the before men-"tioned Bembo." Mazzuchelli has, however, cited one of the letters of Bembo; from which it appears that she addressed some verses to him; but whether they were in Italian or Spanish, which latter language she frequently adopted in her poetical compositions, he has not ventured to decide. It may, however, be presumed, from the following lines in one of the elegant Latin poems addressed to her by Bembo, that she wrote Italian poetry, and it is not therefore without sufficient reason that both Mazzuchelli and Quadrio have enumerated her among the writers of Italy.

"Te tamen in studio, et doctas traducis in artes,
"Nec sinis ingenium splendida forma premat.
"Sive refers lingua modulatum carmen Hetrusca,
"Crederis Hetrusca nata puella solo;
"Seu calamo condis numeros et carmina sumto
"Illa novem possunt scripta decere Deas." &c.

Ad Lucretiam Borgiam. in Bemb. op. tom. iv. *p.* 345.

her, prefixed to his edition of the works of Tito and Ercole Strozzi, it appears that she had offered not only to assist him in the establishment of his great undertaking, but also to defray the whole expense attending it. If the sentiments which he attributes to her, were in fact expressed by her, of which there appears no reason to doubt, they sufficiently mark a great and a virtuous mind. "Your chief desire," says he, "as you have your-"self so nobly asserted, is to stand approved of "God, and to be useful, not only to the pre-"sent age, but to future times; so that when you "quit this life, you may leave behind you a monu-"ment that you have not lived in vain." He then proceeds to celebrate in the warmest terms of approbation, her piety, her liberality, her justice, and her affability. If Lucretia was guilty of the crimes of which she stands accused, the prostitution of her panegyrists is greater than her own; but of such a degradation several of the authors before cited were incapable; and we may therefore be allowed to conclude, that it is scarcely possible, consistently with the known laws of moral character, that the flagitious and abominable Lucretia Borgia, and the respectable, and honoured dutchess of Ferrara, could be united in the same person.

CHAP. VII.

1503—1507.

CAUSES of dissension between the French and Spanish monarchs in the kingdom of Naples—Successes of the French army—Battle between thirteen French and thirteen Italian combatants—Gonsalvo defeats the French, and effects the conquest of Naples—Commotions in Rome—Cesar Borgia quits the city—Election and short pontificate of Pius III.—The states of Romagna retain their fidelity to Cesar Borgia—Election of Julius II. —He endeavours to deprive Borgia of his territories—Borgia betrayed by Gonsalvo and sent to Spain—His death and character—Federigo the exiled king of Naples mediates a peace between the French and Spanish monarchs—Defeat of the French on the Gariglione—Death of Piero de' Medici—Marriage of his daughter Clarice to Filippo Strozzi—Moderation and prudence of the cardinal de' Medici—Untimely death of Galeotto della Rovere—Difficulties and embarrassments of the cardinal de' Medici—Death of Ercole duke of Ferrara and accession of Alfonso I.—Tragical event in the family of Este—Final expulsion of the French from Naples—Julius II. seizes on the cities of Perugia and Bologna —Ferdinand of Spain visits his Neapolitan dominions—Gonsalvo honoured and neglected—He repents of his errours—Is vindicated by Paolo Giovio.

IN the course of human events, it is not uncommon, that rapacity and injustice find, in the very success of their measures, their own punishment. This was strikingly exemplified in the conquest and

CHAP. VII. 1503. Æt. 28.

and dismemberment of the kingdom of Naples, which instead of affording to the victors the advantages they expected, opened the way to new contests, more bloody and destructive than any that Italy had of late experienced. In the partition of that country, it had been agreed, that the king of France should possess the districts called Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzi, and the king of Spain those of Appulia and Calabria, as being most contiguous to his Sicilian dominions; but when the commanders of the allied armies began to adjust their respective boundaries, it appeared that their sovereigns had not been sufficiently acquainted with the territories which they claimed, to define the limits in an explicit, or even an intelligible manner. The ancient divisions of the kingdom were indeed now no longer recognised; Alfonso I. having, for the more convenient receipt of his revenues, divided it into six provinces, to which he gave the appellations of Terra di Lavoro, Principato, Basilicata, Calabria, Appulia, and Abruzzi. Of these, the province of Appulia formed three subdivisions, called Terra di Otranto, Terra di Bari, and Capitanato. The first difficulty that occurred, was respecting the district called Basilicata, the ancient Lucania, which had not been allotted in express terms to either of the parties; the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, asserting that both this, and the Principato, were a part of the district of Calabria, which was divided into two provinces, denominated *Citra* and *Ultra*, and, that as it actually separated the provinces which were expressly

Causes of dissension between the French and Spanish monarchs in the kingdom of Naples.

pressly allotted to his master, it must be considered as a part of his dominion.[a] The pretensions of the French general, Louis d'Armignac, duke of Nemours, rested on the well known fact, that the Basilicata had not at any time been considered as a part, either of Appulia or Calabria, and on the general rights of his sovereign, as king of Naples, to all such parts as had not been particularly conceded by treaty. A similar dispute arose respecting the subdivision of Appulia, called the Capitanato, lying on the confines of Abruzzi, and divided from the rest of Appulia, by the river Ofanto; the French general, like the Spanish, insisting on the indispensable utility of this district, to the other dominions of his sovereign, and on its being more properly a part of Abruzzi, than of Appulia. The division of the revenues arising from the pasturage of Appulia, one of the chief sources of the royal income, formed another cause of dissension; and although the commanders had, during the first year, accommodated this dispute by an equal division of the income, yet in the next, each of them endeavoured to obtain as much of it as possible; thereby giving rise, not only to great vexation and dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Appulia and

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[a] *Guicciard. lib.* v. *vol.* i. *p.* 275.

CHAP. VII. and the principal barons of the kingdom, but to acts of open hostility between the two armies. [b]

1503. Æt. 28.

Successes of the French army.

For the purpose of effecting a pacifick adjustment of these differences, a negotiation was opened, by the intervention of the chief nobility of Naples, between the French and Spanish commanders, which was protracted for several months; in the course of which time, the duke of Nemours, having repaired to Melfi, and Gonsalvo to Atella, those generals had a personal interview. It was, however, found impracticable to terminate the dispute, and they were therefore under the necessity of referring for its decision to their respective sovereigns; having in the mean time agreed, that neither of them should attempt any innovation on the territories possessed by the other. This truce was not of long duration. The duke of Nemours, confident in the superiority of his forces, and unwilling by delay, to allow the Spanish general to recruit his army, of which he had a much greater facility than the French, notified to Gonsalvo, that unless the district of the Capitanato was surrendered to him he would commence hostilities. This threat he instantly carried into execution, by sending a detachment to occupy the city of Tripalda, and attempting to possess himself of all the strong places within

[b] *Guicciard. lib.* v. 1. 275. *Giannone, Storia de' Napoli. lib.* xxix. *cap.* 4. *v.* iii. *p.* 400.

within the Capitanato. The arrival of a reenforcement to the French army of two thousand Swiss, and a great number of Gascons, was a sufficient indication, that Louis XII. chose rather to decide the dispute by arms, than by pacifick measures. For the purpose of expediting further supplies, that monarch first repaired to Lyons, whence he soon afterwards hastened to Milan, in order to be nearer the theatre of action.[c] These efforts were attended with signal success. The fortress of Canoza, although bravely defended by Pietro Navarro, with six hundred men, was compelled to surrender; and in a short time, Gonsalvo was obliged to relinquish, not only the Capitanato, but the chief part of the districts of Appulia and Calabria, and to retire for safety to the town of Barletta, near the mouth of the Ofanto, where he was closely besieged by the duke of Nemours. In the mean time d'Aubigny, having sacked the city of Cosenza and defeated a large body of Spanish and Sicilian troops, overran the rest of the kingdom; and Louis XII. disregarding all former treaties, again asserted his pretensions to the entire dominion of Naples.[d]

In

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[c] *Giannone, lib* xxix. *cap.* 4. *vol.* iii. *p.* 400.

[d] *Guicciard. lib.* v. *vol.* i. *p.* 275. *Muratori Annali.* x. *p.* 11.

CHAP. VII. 1503. Æt. 28.

Battle between thirteen French and thirteen Italian combatants.

In this situation of affairs, a circumstance occurred, which, by attracting the attention, suspended in some degree the operations of the hostile armies, and was probably not without its influence on the subsequent events of the war. Some negotiations having taken place between the French and Spanish commanders, for the exchange of their prisoners, Charles de Torgues, a French officer, visited the town of Barletta, where being invited to supper, in the house of Don Enrico di Mendoza, in company with Indico Lopez, and Don Pietro d'Origno, prior of Messina, a dispute arose respecting the comparative courage of the French and Italian soldiery, in the course of which de Torgues asserted, that the Italians were an effeminate and dastardly people. Lopez replied, that he had himself under his command, a troop of Italians, who were not only equal to the French, but on whose courage and fidelity he could as fully rely, as if they were his own countrymen. In order to decide this controversy, it was agreed, that a combat on horseback should take place between thirteen Frenchmen and thirteen Italians, on condition, that the victors should be entitled to the arms and horses of the vanquished, and one hundred gold crowns each. This proposal met with the approbation of the respective commanders, who were probably not displeased with the opportunity afforded them, of a short relaxation from the fatigues of war. Four judges were appointed on each side, to determine on the victory, and hostages

tages were mutually given to abide by their decision.[e] CHAP. VII. On 1503. Æt. 28.

[e] Muratori has omitted the names of the combatants, observing, that Jovius had suppressed those on the part of the French, from respect to their nation; but Summonte names not only the combatants, but the judges and hostages as under.

COMBATANTS.

FRENCH.	ITALIANS.
Charles de Torgues.	Hettore Fieramosca.
Marc de Frigne.	Francesco Salamone.
Giraut de Forses.	Marco Corollario.
Claude Graiam d'Asti.	Riccio di Palma.
Martellin de Lambris.	Gulielmo d' Albamonte.
Pier de Liaie.	Marino di Abignente.
Jacques de la Fontaine.	Giovanni Capozzo.
Eliot de Baraut.	Giovanni Brancaleone.
Jean de Landes.	Lodovico d' Abenavolo.
Sacet de Sacet.	Hettore Giovenale.
Francois de Pise.	Bartolommeo Tanfulla.
Jacques de Guignes.	Romanello da Forli.
Naute de la Fraises.	Meale Tesi.

JUDGES.

Monsig. di Broglio.	Francisco Zurlo.
Monsig. di Murtibrach.	Diego Vela.
Monsig. de Bruet.	Francesco Spinola.
Etum Sutte	Alonzo Lopez.

CHAP. VII. 1503. Æt. 28.

On the day appointed, which was the thirteenth of February, 1503, the armies met, as spectators of the combat, in a plain between the towns of Andre and Corrato, and the chief commanders pledged themselves to each other, for the due observance of the stipulated terms. After the Italian combatants had attended the celebration of the mass, Gonsalvo encouraged them by an oration, the tenour of which has been preserved by one of his countrymen, in Spanish verse.[f] They then partook of a moderate collation, after which they proceeded to the field of battle, their horses, ready caparisoned, being led by thirteen captains of infantry. The combatants followed on horseback in complete armour, except their helmets, which, together with their lances, were carried by thirteen gentlemen. Being arrived within a mile of the field, they were met by the four Italian judges, who informed them, that they had been with the four judges appointed by the French, and had marked out the space for the combat. The Italians were the first in the field, when their leader, Hettore Fieramosca, availed himself of the opportunity of addressing his associates in a speech, which the

HOSTAGES.

Monsig. de Musnai.	Angelo Galeotta.
Monsig. de Dumoble.	Albernuccio Valga.

[f] *Summonte Storia di Napoli, lib.* vi. *v.* iii. *fl.* 542. *(corr.* 607.*)*

the Neapolitan historian, Summonte, has also thought proper to preserve. In a short time the French combatants also made their appearance in great pomp, and with numerous attendants. The adverse parties then quitting their horses, and mounting the steeds prepared for them, arrayed themselves in order, and giving their coursers the reins, rushed against each other at full speed. A few lances were broken in the shock, without much injury to either party; but it was observed that the Italians remained firmly united, whilst the French seemed to be dispersed, and in some disorder. The combatants then dismounting, attacked each other with swords and battle axes, and a contest ensued, in which both parties displayed great courage, strength, and dexterity, but the result of which was a complete victory to the Italians; the French being all either wounded or made prisoners.[g] The ransom of one hundred crowns, not being found upon the persons of the vanquished, the

[g] Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (*de Poet. suor. tempor. dialog.* 1.) informs us, that the celebrated Girolamo Vida, wrote a Latin poem on this event; entitled xiii. *Italorum pugilum cum totidem Gallis certamen*, which he inscribed to Baldassare Castiglione; but this earnest of the future talents of its author, has not been preserved to the present times, *v. Vidæ opi. Testimon.* 161. Piero Summonte of Naples, the friend of Sanazzaro, also wrote a copy of Latin verses, addressed to Hettore Fieramosca, which merit perusal. See note A. at the end of the volume.

CHAP. VII. 1503. Æt. 28.

the conquerors, by the directions of the judges, retained their adversaries in custody, and carried them into the town of Barletta, where Gonsalvo, out of his own purse, generously paid their ransom, and restored them to liberty.[h] Amidst the defeats and humiliations which the Italians had experienced, it is not surprising that their historians have dwelt upon this incident with peculiar complacency, as tending to show, that under equal circumstances, their countrymen were not inferiour either in conduct or courage to their invaders. And although a French writer has endeavoured to invalidate some of the facts before related, it cannot be doubted that the Italians were justly entitled to the honour of the victory.[i]

Unimpor-

[h] Guicciardini and Muratori assert, that one of the French combatants, and several of the horses, were killed on the field; but I have preferred the narrative of Summonte, who seems to have been more fully informed of the particulars of this transaction than any other writer.

[i] "Monsignor di Belcaire Vescovo di Metz si credette "di poter sminuire la riputazion de gli Italiani, addu- "cendo alcune particolarità toccate dal Sabellico intorno a "quel duello, quasichè la frode, e non la virtù, avesse gua- "dagnata la pugna. Ma quel prelato non s'intendeva del "mestiere dell'armi; e per la gloria degli Italiani altro non "occorre rispondergli, se non che i Giudici deputati a quel "conflitto, dichiararono legitima la vittoria; nè mai i vinti "o i lor compagni pretesero di darle taccia alcuna." *Mu- "rat. Ann. d'Ital. vol.* x. *fl.* 22.

Unimportant as this event was in itself, it seems to have changed the fortune of the war, and to have led the way to the numerous defeats and disasters which the French soon afterwards experienced. Gonsalvo, quitting his intrenchments at Barletta, assaulted and captured the town of Rufo; taking prisoner the French commander, de Pelisse. About the same time, d'Aubigny was attacked and defeated in Calabria by the Spanish general Ugo Da Cardona, and was himself severely wounded. A more decisive victory was soon afterwards obtained by the Spaniards in Appulia; nor did the duke of Nemours long survive his defeat. In consequence of these rapid successes, Gonsalvo found himself in possession of the chief part of the kingdom. Distressed by continual tumults, and exhausted by famine, the cities of Capua, Aversa, and even Naples, sent deputies to him to testify their obedience, and reques this presence. On the fourteenth day of May 1503, Gonsalvo, with his victorious army, entered the city of Naples, to the great joy of the inhabitants; against whom he vigilantly restrained his soldiery from committing the slightest outrage; and from this period, the crown of Naples has been invariably united with that of Spain, under the government of the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon.

Gonsalvo defeats the French, and effects the conquest of Naples.

At the time of the death of Alexander VI. his son, Cesar Borgia, was labouring under a severe disorder, occasioned, as has generally been believed,

CHAP. VII. 1503. Æt. 28.

believed, by that poison which he had prepared for others, but which had been inadvertently administered to himself. He was not, however, inactive at this critical period, against which he had endeavoured to provide, by all the precautions in his power; nor was there any circumstance, other than his unexpected malady, to which his foresight had not provided a remedy.[j] No sooner was he informed of the death of the pontiff, than he despatched his confidential adherent, Don Michele, with several attendants, to close the gates of the palace. One of these partisans, meeting with the cardinal Casanuova, threatened to strangle him, and throw him through the windows, if he did not instantly deliver up to him the keys of the pope's treasure. The cardinal did not long hesitate, and the friends of Borgia, hastening into the interiour chambers, seized upon and carried away all the money contained in two chests, amounting to about ten thousand ducats.[k] It is observable, that during the whole time of the indisposition of the pope, he was never once visited by Cesar Borgia, nor is it less remarkable, that in his last sickness, he displayed no particular marks of attachment either to his son, or to his daughter Lucretia.[l] Although

Commotions in Rome. Cesar Borgia quits the city.

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j *Machiav. lib. del Principe. cap.* vii. *p.* 18.

k *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. Romani, vol.* i. *p* 137.

l " Dans ses derniers momens," says M. Brequigny, *(Notices*

though Borgia had at this time a considerable body of soldiers in Rome, he conducted himself with great humility towards the sacred college, and expressed his willingness to give assurance of his fidelity by his oath, whenever required. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which Borgia undertook to defend the college, collectively and individually, and to protect the nobility and citizens of Rome, for which purpose he was confirmed in his office as captain of the church.[m] No sooner however, was the death of the pope, and the infirmity of Borgia publickly announced, than many of the great barons of the Roman states, whom they had deprived of their territories, took up arms to revenge their injuries, and repossessed themselves of their rights. It was to no purpose, that Cesar employed all his arts to mitigate their resentment, and gain over to his interest, the nobles of the Colonna family, whom he had not outraged with the same cruel policy, that he had exercised

(*Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi tom.* i. *p.* 119.) " il " parut avoir oublié sa fille Lucrèce qu' il avoit beaucoup " trop aimée, & son fils César Borgia, dont il s'étoit tant " occupé pendant sa vie. *Nec unquam memor fuit in aliquo* " *minimo verbo.*" It certainly affords no additional proof of the supposed guilty intercourse between Alexander and his daughter, that he expressed on his death bed, neither regret for her loss, nor compunction for his crime.

[m] *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concil. de' Pontef. vol.* i. *p.* 141.

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exercised towards the Orsini. An aversion to their common enemy united the adverse chiefs of these two houses, and Borgia, with his followers, was attacked by their combined forces in the streets of Rome.[n] In these commotions, upwards of two hundred houses were sacked by the troops of the Orsini, among which was that of the cardinal Cusa.[o] Although courageously defended by his soldiery, and assisted by a few French troops, Borgia was compelled to give way to the violence of the attack, and to take shelter, with his brother, the prince of Squillace, and several of the cardinals, who adhered to his interests, in the Vatican. A new negotiation now took place, by which it was at length agreed, that the sacred college should assure to Borgia, a free and uninterrupted passage through the ecclesiastical states, for himself and his followers, with their necessary provisions, ammunition, and artillery; and should also write to the Venetian senate, to request, that he might without interruption, retain the possession of his territories in Romagna. On these conditions, he promised to depart peaceably from Rome within three days. The leaders of the Colonna and Orsini, also engaged to quit the city, and not to approach within ten miles, during the vacancy

[n] *Guicciard. Storia d' Italia. lib.* vi. *p.* 320.

[o] *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. v.* i. *p.* 142.

vacancy of the holy see. A proclamation was then made, that no person, of whatever rank or condition, should molest Borgia or his followers on their departure; in consequence of which he quitted the city on the second day of August, and directed his course towards Naples.[p]

Election and short pontificate of Pius III.

On receiving information of the vacancy of the holy see, George of Amboise, cardinal of Rohan, had hastened to Rome; not without hopes of obtaining the pontifical authority. He brought with him, as supporters of his pretensions, the cardinals of Aragon, and Ascanio Sforza; the latter of whom had been imprisoned by Louis XII. at the same time with his brother Lodovico, but had shortly before this period been restored to liberty. The recent disasters of the French in Naples, were not, however, favourable to the views of the cardinal of Rohan; and on the twenty-second day of September, 1503, the conclave concurred in electing to the supreme dignity, Francesco Piccolomini, cardinal of Siena, the nephew of Pius II. who assumed the name of Pius III. The acknowledged probity, talents, and pacifick disposition of this pontiff, gave great reason to hope, that his influence and exertions might have a powerful effect in correcting the scandalous disorders of the church, and

[p] *Burchard. Diar. apſ. Concl. de' Pontef. v.* i. *p.* 145.

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and repressing the dissensions to which Italy had so long been subjected. The first measure of this pontificate, which was to call a general council, for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, tended to confirm these hopes; but they were suddenly extinguished by the death of the pontiff, after he had enjoyed the supreme dignity only twenty-six days. This event was, according to the fashion of the times, attributed to poison; but it was more probably occasioned by the effects of an abscess in the thigh, with which the pontiff was known to have long laboured, and which was perhaps not the least efficient argument for inducing the conclave to raise him to the pontificate. [q]

The states of Romagna retain their fidelity to Cesar Borgia.

A few days after the election of Pius III. Cesar Borgia returned to Rome, when the contests between him and the Roman barons were renewed with greater violence than before. Many of his adherents lost their lives, and the *Porta del Torrione* was burnt by the troops of the Orsini. Finding

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[q] On this event Angelo Colocci produced, in an epitaph on the pontiff, the following severe sarcasm on his predecessor, Alexander VI.

" Tertius hic Pius est, quĩ summum ad culmen ab ipsa
" Virtue evectus, protinus interiit.
" Nec mirum, quia peste atra, qui sederat ante,
" *Sextus Alexander, polluerat Solium.*

Opt. lat. Colotii. p. 112.

ing himself in imminent danger, he retreated, with the consent of the pope, to the castle of S. Angelo, accompanied by a few menial attendants, and by six of the cardinals who still adhered to his cause.[r] In the mean time many of the lords, whom Borgia had dispossessed, returned to their dominions. The Baglioni again occupied Perugia, the Vitelli entered the city of Castello, the duke of Urbino returned to his capital,[s] and the lords of Pesaro,

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[r] Sanazzaro, invariably hostile to the family of Borgia, has commemorated this event in the following exulting lines:

" Qui modo prostratos jactarat cornibus *Ursos*,
" In latebras *Taurus* concitus ecce fugit.
" Nec latebras putat esse satis sibi; Tibride toto
" Cingitur, et notis vix bene fidit aquis.
" Terruerat montes mugitibus; obvia nunc est,
" Et facilis cuivis præda sine arte capi.
" Sed tamen id magnum; nuper potuisse vel Ursos
" Sternere, nunc omnes posse timere feras.
" Ne tibi, Roma, novæ desint spectacula Pompæ;
" Amphitheatrales reddit arena jocos."

Epig. lib. i. *Ep.* 14.

[s] Notwithstanding the representation given by Bembo, of the affection of the subjects of Urbino for their sovereign, he did not recover his dominions without great difficulty. On this occasion Castiglione, who had the command of a company of cavalry in the service of the duke, dislocated his ancle by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which he went to Urbino, where he was most kindly

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Pesaro, Camerino, Piombino, and Sinigaglia, were restored to their authority as suddenly as they had been deprived of it. Several of the cities of Romagna, retained, however, their fidelity to their new sovereign, having found by experience the superiour advantages derived from their union under his government, compared to that of their former princes; whose power, though sufficient to oppress, was inadequate to defend them. To this decisive partiality in favour of Cesar Borgia, they were also incited by the attention which he had paid to the strict administration of justice, which had freed them from the hordes of banditti by whom they had been infested, and suppressed the feuds and assassinations to which they had before been subject. [t] Hence, neither the defection of other places, nor even their apprehensions of the Venetians, who were already preparing to avail themselves of their unprotected situation, could induce those cities to waver in their fidelity, or to listen to proposals from any other quarter.

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kindly received by the dutchess Elisabetta, to whom he was related, and by Madama Emilia Pia, who resided at that court. His acquaintance with these accomplished women, completed what may be called his education, and he became the *Chesterfield* of the age. *v. vita di Bald. Castiglione. p.* 11.

t *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* vi. *v.* i. *p.* 316.

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On the death of Pius III. the cardinal de' Medici, and two of his brethren, were appointed by the college to receive the oath of fidelity from Monsignor Marco, bishop of Sinigaglia, keeper of the castle of S. Angelo. [u] The loss of the pontiff was an additional misfortune to Borgia, as it opened the way for the assumption to the pontificate of Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula, the ancient and most determined enemy of his family. Of the dissensions of this prelate with Alexander VI. various instances are related; but amidst the many opprobrious epithets which they were accustomed to bestow on each other, Alexander had the magnanimity to acknowledge, that his opponent was a man of veracity. Such a concession from such a quarter, raised the credit of the cardinal more than all the animosity of the pope could depress it, and Giuliano, well aware that no one can deceive so effectually as he who has once acquired a reputation for sincerity, is said to have availed himself of this circumstance to secure his election, which, if we may believe Guicciardini, was not effected without some sacrifice of his former good estimation. [v] On this occasion the cardinal affected to lay aside his enmity to Cesar Borgia, and a treaty was concluded between them, by

Election of Julius II.

[u] *Burch. diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. v.* i. *p.* 153.

[v] *Guicciard. Stor. d' Ital. lib.* vi. *v.* i. *p.* 321.

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by which the cardinal engaged, that if he should by the assistance of Borgia, be raised to the pontificate, he would confer upon him the dignity of *Gonfaloniere*, or general of the church, and confirm his authority in the states of Romagna. [w] This project was successful; Giuliano attained his wishes; but no sooner had he ascended the papal throne, than he gave sufficient indications of his former animosity; and Borgia was too late aware of an errour, which was the occasion of his ruin, and which is enumerated by Machiavelli, as one of the few mistakes of his political life. [x]

The pope attempts to devest Borgia of his territories.

On assuming his high office, the new pontiff adopted the name of Julius II. and soon proved himself to be one of the most active, warlike, and politick sovereigns that had ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. [y] The Venetians, proceeding from Ravenna,

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[w] *Burchard. diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. Guicciard. Stor. d' Ital. lib.* vi. *v.* i. 322.

[x] " " Chi crede che ne' personaggi grandi i beneficii " nuovi facino dimenticare l' ingiurie vecchie, inganna. " Errò adunque il duca (Borgia) in questa elettione, & fu " cagione dell' ultima rovina sua." *Macch. lib. del Principe. cap.* vii.

[y] The elevation of Julius II. which took place on the twenty-ninth day of October, has been celebrated in many of the Latin poems of Augurelli, who may be considered as the poet-laureate of that pontiff.

From

venna, which they before possessed, had already made an irruption into Romagna, and not only subjugated the city and fortress of Faenza, but gave evident demonstrations of their designs upon the other cities of that district. These measures occasioned no small anxiety to the pope, who had proposed to himself the preservation and extension of the territories of the church, as the great object of his pontificate. An embassy from him to the Venetian senate, entreating them to desist from their pretensions, was of no avail; but as several of the cities of Romagna still retained their allegiance to Borgia, the pontiff thought it expedient to make use of him as the most effectual instrument, for preventing the total separation of these states from the Roman see. He therefore seized upon the person of Borgia, who had proceeded to the port of Ostia, intending to embark for France, and required, that before his liberation, he should consign to him the possession of the different fortressess in the district of Romagna. This, Borgia at first refused; but being detained for some days

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From the martial spirit of this pontiff, it was supposed that he had assumed the name of *Julius* in reference to Julius Cesar.

" Purpureum plebs uncta caput creat auspice tandem
" *Julium*, et, ut memorant, a magno *Cæsare* dictum."
Mantuani Vincentii, Alba. apt. Carm. illustr. Ital. v. xi. *p.* 338.

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days as a prisoner, he at length complied, and gave the necessary countersigns for surrendering up the fortresses. The archbishop of Ragusa was immediately despatched to obtain possession; but the commanders, still attached to their leader, refused to deliver them up, under any orders obtained from him whilst under restraint. On this spirited measure, Borgia was again restored to liberty, highly caressed by the pope, and provided with apartments in the Vatican. His orders to deliver up the fortresses of Romagna were again repeated, and as a proof of his sincerity, he despatched one of his confidential adherents, Pietro d'Oviedo, with directions to the different commanders to the same purpose. This second attempt was equally ineffectual with the former. No sooner did Oviedo, accompanied by Moschiavellar, the pope's chamberlain, arrive at the castle of Cesena, then commanded by Don Diego Ramiro, than that officer caused him to be seized upon, and instantly hanged as a traitor to his sovereign. When the information of this event arrived at Rome, Cesar was again deprived of his liberty, and sent to occupy a remote apartment in the Torre Borgia. [z]

In this situation a new negotiation commenced between Borgia and the pontiff, in the result of which

[z] *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concil. de Pontef.* v. i. *p.* 163.

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which it was agreed, that Borgia should be committed to the charge of Bernardino Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, and conveyed to Ostia, where he should be liberated as soon as information was received, that his governours in Romagna had delivered up their trust. Several of the commanders now obeyed the directions of their prince, and the cardinal thereupon gave him permission to proceed to France, which he had pretended was his intention. He had, however, already obtained a passport from the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, who had despatched two gallies to Ostia, to convey him with his attendants to Naples.[a] He accordingly embarked for that place, and was received by Gonsalvo with every demonstration of kindness and respect. The hopes of Borgia now began once more to revive. The commander of the fortress of Forli, still held the place in his name. Gonsalvo promised him a supply of gallies, and gave him liberty to engage soldiers within the kingdom of Naples, for an attempt on the city of Pisa, or the Tuscan territories. Bartolommeo d'Alveano, then at Naples, earnestly desirous of restoring the Medici to Florence, offered himself as an associate in his undertaking. But whilst Gonsalvo was thus flattering his ambitious projects, he had secretly despatched a messenger into Spain, to request directions

Borgia betrayed by Gonsalvo and sent to Spain

[a] *Guicciard. Stor. d'Ital. lib.* vi. *p.* 339.

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rections from Ferdinand, in what manner he should dispose of the dangerous person, who had thus confided in his protection. The activity and credit of Borgia had raised a considerable armament; the gallies were prepared for sea, and on the evening previous to the day fixed upon for their departure, he had an interview with Gonsalvo, in the course of which he received from the Spaniard, the warmest expressions of attachment, and was dismissed with an affectionate embrace. No sooner, however, had he quitted the chamber, than he was seized upon by the orders of Gonsalvo, who alleged, that he had received directions from his sovereign, which superseded the effect of his own passport. [b] Being committed to the charge of his ancient adversary, Prospero Colonna, he was soon afterwards put on board a galley and conveyed to Spain. The conduct of Colonna, on this occasion, is highly honourable to his feelings; for in the execution of his commission, he was so far from insulting his captive, that he avoided even fixing his eyes

[b] Some readers may perhaps be inclined to exclaim

"Nec lex est justior ulla
"Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ."

But it should be remembered, that although it be a proper cause of exultation, when a villain falls by the consequences of his own crime, it will not follow, that he ought to perish by the crime of another.

eyes upon him during the whole voyage, lest he should appear to exult over a fallen enemy. [c] CHAP. VII. 1503. Æt. 28.

On the arrival of Borgia in Spain, he was confined a close prisoner in the castle of Medina del Campo, where he remained for the space of two years. Having at length effected his escape, he fled to his brother-in-law, John d'Albret, king of Navarre, in whose service he remained for several years in a high military command, and at length fell by a shot in an action under the walls of Viana. From that place his body was conveyed to Pampeluna, and deposited in the cathedral, of which he had once been prelate. [d]

Of this extraordinary character it may with truth be observed, that his activity, courage, and perseverance, were equal to the greatest attempts. In

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[c] *Jovius in vita Gonsalvi. fl.* 257. Sanazzaro did not, however, omit this opportunity of expressing his joy in his well known *hendecasyllabi:*

"O *Taure*, præsens qui fugis periculum."
Epig. lib. i. *Ep.* 15.

[d] "——haud dubiè," says Jovius, "rapiente fato ad "eam urbem cujus Antistes antea fuerat." To which he adds with great gravity, "Neque enim quisquam fere re- "pertus est, qui quum sese susceptis semel sacris abdicarit, "tranquillam vitæ exitum tulisse censeatur." *Jov. in vita Gonsalv. lib.* iii. *fl.* 275.

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In the pursuit of his object he overlooked or overleaped all other considerations; when force was ineffectual, he resorted to fraud; and whether he thundered in open hostility at the gates of a city, or endeavoured to effect his purpose by negotiation and treachery, he was equally irresistible. If we may confide in the narrative of Guicciardini, cruelty, rapine, injustice, and lust, are only particular features in the composition of this monster; yet it is difficult to conceive, that a man so totally unredeemed by a single virtue, should have been enabled to maintain himself at the head of a powerful army; to engage in so eminent a degree the favour of the people conquered; to form alliances with the first sovereigns of Europe; to destroy or overturn the most powerful families of Italy; and to lay the foundations of a dominion, of which it is acknowledged that the short duration is to be attributed rather to his ill fortune, and the treachery of others, than either to his errours or his crimes. If, however, he has been too indiscriminately condemned by one historian, he has in another met with as zealous and powerful an encomiast, and the maxims of the politician are only the faithful record of the transactions of his hero. On the principles of Machiavelli, Borgia was the greatest man of the age.[e] Nor was he, in fact, without qualities, which

[e] "Se adunque si considererà tutti i progressi del Duca, "si vedrà quanto lui havesse fatto gran fondamenti alli futura potenza,

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which in some degree compensated for his demerits. Courageous, munificent, eloquent, and accomplished in all the exercises of arts and arms, he raised an admiration of his endowments which kept pace with, and counterbalanced the abhorrence excited by his crimes. That even these crimes have been exaggerated, is highly probable.[f] His enemies were numerous, and the certainty of his guilt in some instances, gave credibility to every imputation that could be devised to throw his character into deeper shade. That he retained, even after he had survived his prosperity, no inconsiderable share of publick estimation, is evident from the fidelity and attachment shown him on many occasions. After his death, his memory and achievements were celebrated by one of the most elegant Latin poets that Italy has produced. The language,

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" potenza, li quali non giudico superfluo discorrere ; perchè " io non saprei quali precetti mi dare migliori ad uno " Principe nuovo, che lo esempio delle attioni sue. E se " gli ordini suoi non gli giovarono, non fù sua colpa, " perchè nacque da una straordinaria & estrema malignità " di fortuna."

Machiav. lib. del Princ. cap. viii. *p.* 15.

[f] The character of Cesar Borgia is ably and impartially considered in the *General Biography*, now publishing by Dr. Aikin, and others, *vol.* ii. *p.* 234, *London*, 1800. 4*to*. A work, which does not implicitly adopt prescriptive errours, but evinces a sound judgment, a manly freedom of sentiment, and a correct taste.

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language of poetry is not indeed always that of truth; but we may at least give credit to the account of the personal accomplishments and warlike talents of Borgia; [g] although we may indignantly reject the spurious praise, which represents all Olympus as interested in his fate, and places him among the heroes of antiquity, and at the summit of fame. [h]

Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, mediates a peace between the French and Spanish monarchs.

On receiving intelligence of the defeat of his generals, and the loss of his lately acquired dominions in the kingdom of Naples, Louis XII. was greatly mortified, and immediately began to take measures

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[g] " Non quisquam ingenio melior, non promptior ore,
" Non gravior vultu, non vi præstantior, altos
" Si celerem supersedere equos, jaculamque, sudemque,
" Amento, atque agili procul exturbare lacerto." &c.

[h] " Ille diu vixit, qui dum celestibus auris
" Vescitur, implet onus laudis, cœlumque meretur," &c.
Cæsaris Borgiæ Ducis Epicedium, per Herculem Strozzam, ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam Ferrariæ Ducem. int. Strozzæ Pat. et Fil. Poemata. Ald. 1513.

That Cesar Borgia, like most of the eminent men of his time, aspired to the character of a poet, is considered as highly probable by Crescimbeni, *della volgar poesia, vol.* v. *p.* 63. Quadrio has also, on this authority, enumerated him among his Italian writers; to which, however, he adds, " Come che siamo persuasi che la poesia, che non " s' apprende che ad anime signorili e ben fatte, non fosse " pane per li suoi denti." *Storia d' ogni poesia, vol.* ii. *p.* 320.

measures for repairing those disasters which his earlier vigilance might have prevented. Not satisfied with despatching a powerful reenforcement through the papal states into the kingdom of Naples, under the command of the duke de la Tremouille, he determined to attack his adversary in his Spanish dominions. For this purpose large bodies of French troops entered the province of Rousillon and Fontarabia, whilst a powerful fleet was directed to infest the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia. These great preparations were not, however followed by the expected consequences. An attempt upon the fortress of Palo, near the city of Narbonne, was frustrated by the courage of the Spanish garrison; and whilst the ardour of the French was checked by this unexpected opposition, Ferdinand himself took the field, and at the head of his army compelled his adversaries to retire within the limits of the French territory, where he had the moderation not to pursue his advantages. Nor were the achievements of the French fleet of greater importance; the commanders having, after many fruitless attempts upon the Spanish coast, been obliged to take refuge in Marseilles. At this period an event occurred, which exhibits the conduct of the contending monarchs in a singular point of view. A negotiation was entered into between them for the restoration of peace, and the mediator to whom they agreed to appeal for the reconciliation of their differences, was Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, the partition of whose dominions had

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had given rise to the war. In the course of these discussions, Federigo was alternately flattered by both parties with the hopes of being restored to his crown; and so far had he obtained the favour of Anne of Bretagne, the queen of Louis XII. that she earnestly entreated the king to concur in this measure. It is not, however, to be supposed that it was the intention of either of the contending monarchs to perform such an act of disinterested justice; on the contrary, the pretext of appealing to the decision of Federigo, was probably only employed by them for the purpose of obtaining from each other more advantageous terms.

Defeat of the French on the Garigliono.

The duke de la Tremouille having united his troops with those of his countrymen at Gaeta, and being reenforced by the marquis of Mantua, who had now entered into the service of the French, possessed himself of the dutchy of Trajetto, and the district of Fondi, as far as the river Garigliano. He was, however, soon opposed by Gonsalvo, who had been joined by Bartolommeo d'Alveano, at the head of a considerable body of troops. The French, disadvantageously posted on the marshy banks of the river, had thrown a bridge over it, intending to proceed by the speediest route to Naples; but, Gonsalvo having arrived at S. Germano, was induced by the remonstrances of d'Alveano, to attack them before they could effect their passage. On the night of the twenty-eighth day of

of December, 1503,[i] the Spaniards formed another bridge at Suio, about four miles above the French camp, over which Gonsalvo, with a considerable part of his army, secretly passed the river. On the following morning the French were suddenly attacked by d'Alveano, who carrried the bridge which they had erected, and when the engagement became general, Gonsalvo, taking the French in the rear, routed them with an immense slaughter, and pursued them as far as Gaeta, which place he soon afterwards reduced.[j]

Death of Piero de' Medici.

This day terminated the unfortunate life of Piero de' Medici, who had engaged in the service of the French, and taken a principal part in the action; but finding all hopes of assistance frustrated, and being desirous of rendering his friends all the services in his power, he embarked on board a galley, with several other persons of rank, intending to convey to Gaeta four heavy pieces of artillery, which he had prevented from falling into the hands of the conquerors. The weight of these pieces, and probably the number of passengers, who endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity to effect their escape, occasioned the vessel to founder;

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[i] *Muratori, Annali d' Ital. v.* x. *p.* 25.

[j] The victory of Gonsalvo is celebrated in a Latin ode, addressed to him by Crinitus.

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der; and it was not until several days afterwards, that the body of Piero was recovered from the stream.[k] He left by his wife Alfonsina Orsino, a son, Lorenzo, who was born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, and will frequently occur to our future notice; and a daughter, named Clarice. In his days of gaiety, and amidst the delights of Florence, Piero had assumed a device, intended to characterize his temper and pursuits, to which Politiano had supplied him with an appropriate motto.[l] His misfortunes, or his misconduct, soon provided him with more serious occupa-

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[k] Valerianus informs us, that Piero perished in the port of Gaeta, and in the presence of his wife; at the same time he bears testimony to his learning and accomplishments, "vir et Græcis et Latinis literis, optimè, quod "omnes fateamini, peritus. Nam hoc et scripta ejus indi- "cant, & quædam ex Plutarcho de amore conjugali, quæ "vidimus, traducta ab eo, locupletissimè testantur." *Valer. de literator. infelicitate. lib.* ii. *fl.* 113. At the same time perished Fabio, the son of Paolo Orsino, a young man of very uncommon endowments, the relation and constant companion of Piero de' Medici. Of his early proficiency and extraordinary talents, Politiano has left an interesting account. *Lib.* xii. *Ep.* 2.

[l] This device represented green branches, interwoven together, and placed in the midst of flames, with the motto, *In viridi tenares exurit flamma medullas.*

v. *Ammir. Ritratti d'huomini illustri di Casa Medici. in Opuscoli. v.* iii. *fl.* 62.

occupations; and ten years of exile and disappointment, consumed the vigour of a life which had opened with the most favourable prospects. In the year 1552, Cosmo I. grand duke of Tuscany, erected to the memory of his kinsman, a splendid monument, at Monte Cassino, with an inscription, commemorating, not indeed his virtues, nor his talents, but his high family connexions, and his untimely death.[m] CHAP. VII. 1503. Æt. 28.

The death of Piero de' Medici seems to have been the period from which the fortunes of his house once more began to revive; nor is it difficult to discover the reasons of so favourable a change. The aversion and indignation of the Florentines were directed against the individual, rather than against the family; and soon after the death of Piero, his widow, Alfonsina, was allowed to return to Florence, and claim her rights of dower from the property of her husband. Of this opportunity she diligently availed herself to dispose the minds of the citizens to favour the cause of the Medici; and in order more effectually to promote the interests of her family, she negotiated a marriage 1504.

[m] "PETRO MEDICI MAGNI LAURENTII F. LEONIS X. "PONTIF. MAX. FRATRI. CLEMENTIS VII. PATRUELI. "QUI QUUM GALLORUM CASTRA SEQUERETUR, EX ADVERSO PRÆLIO AD LYRIS OSTIUM NAUFRAGIO PERIIT. ANNO "AET. XXXIII. COSMAS MEDICES, FLORENT. DUX, PONI "CURAVIT. M.D.LII."

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riage between her daughter Clarice, and Filippo Strozzi, a young nobleman of great wealth and extraordinary accomplishments. This marriage was celebrated shortly after the return of Alfonsina to Rome; but no sooner was it known to the magistrates of Florence, than they cited Filippo to appear before them, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of his friends, condemned him to pay five hundred gold crowns, and banished him for three years into the kingdom of Naples. At the same time Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was declared a rebel to the state. These proceedings did not, however, prevent Clarice from paying frequent visits to Florence, where she maintained a strict intercourse with the Salviati, the Rucellai, and other families, connected by the ties of relationship or friendship with the house of Medici; and although Filippo Strozzi returned before the expiration of the term prescribed, and took up his residence with his wife in Florence, no measures were adopted either to punish him, or to remand him into banishment; a circumstance which the friends of the Medici did not fail to notice, as a striking indication of the strength of their cause.[n]

Marriage of Clarice de' Medici to Filippo Strozzi.

The inconsiderate conduct, the ambitious views and the impetuous and arrogant disposition of Piero de'

[n] *Commentarii di Nerli lib.* v. *fi.* 100, *&c.*

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de' Medici, had been always strongly contrasted by the mild and placable temper of the cardinal; who, although he had on all occasions adhered to his brother, as the chief of his family, had always endeavoured to sooth the violence of those passions, and to moderate those aspiring pretensions, which after having occasioned his expulsion from Florence, still continued to operate, and effectually precluded his return. During the latter part of the pontificate of Alexander VI. the cardinal de' Medici had fixed his residence at Rome; where, devoted to a private life, he had the address and good fortune, if not to obtain the favour of that profligate pontiff, at least to escape his resentment. The election of Julius II. to the pontificate, opened to him the prospect of brighter days. It is true, Julius was the nephew of Sixtus IV. the inveterate enemy of the Medicean name; but these ancient antipathies had long been converted into attachment and esteem. Under the favour of this pontiff, the cardinal had an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition to the cultivation of polite letters, and the promotion of works of art.° His books, though not numerous, were well chosen, and

Moderation and prudence of the cardinal de' Medici.

° Pietro Bembo writing to Bernardo da Bibbiena, the domestick secretary of the cardinal, says, "Al vostro e mio "S. cardinale de' Medici renderete quelle grazie del suo "dolce e cortese animo nelle cose mie, che sono a tanto "debito convenienti."

In Bembi opt. iii. 191.

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and his domestick hours were generally spent in the society of such dignified and learned ecclesiasticks, as could at times condescend to lay aside the severity of their order, to discuss the characteristicks of generous actions, the obligations of benevolence and affection, the comparative excellencies of the fine arts, or the nature and essence of human happiness. On these subjects the cardinal never failed to distinguish himself by his urbanity, his acuteness, and his eloquence.[p] In deciding upon the productions of architecture, of painting, and of sculpture, his taste was hereditary, and he was resorted to by artists in every department, as to an infallible judge. With the science of musick he was theoretically and practically conversant, and his house more frequently reechoed with the sprightly harmony of concerts, than with the solemn sounds of devotion. Debarred by his profession from the exercises of the camp, he addicted himself with uncommon ardour to the chase, as the best means of preserving his health, and preventing that corpulency to which he was naturally inclined. This amusement he partook of in common with a numerous band of noble associates, of whom he was considered as the leader; nor did he desist from this exercise even after his attainment to the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.

The

[p] *Jovius in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 29, *&c.*

The good understanding which subsisted between Julius II. and the cardinal de' Medici, was further strengthened by Galeotto della Rovere, the nephew of the pope, with whom the cardinal had contracted a strict friendship. This young man was not less the object of the admiration of the court and people of Rome, than he was the favourite of his uncle. Engaging in his manners, elegant in his person, liberal and magnificent in all his conduct, he well merited the high honours bestowed upon him by the pope, who immediately on his elevation, transferred to his nephew the cardinal's hat which he had himself worn, and on the death of Ascanio Sforza nominated him vice chancellor of the holy see.[q] Such was the effect produced by the conciliatory manners of the cardinal de' Medici on his young friend, who, from the advanced age of his uncle, did not conceive that he would long enjoy the pontificate, that Galeotto is said to have promised the cardinal, who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, that he should succeed to that high dignity; alleging that it was an office more proper for a man in the prime and vigour of life, than for one already exhausted by labour, and declining into years. This observation was not, however,

Untimely death of Galeotto della Rovere.

[q] *Jovius in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 29. Several letters to Galeotto from Pietro Bembo, are given in *Bemb. op. vol.* iii. *p.* 6, *&c.* highly favourable to the character of the young cardinal.

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however, applicable to the circumstances by which it was occasioned; for whilst Julius maintained his own dignity, and enforced the claims of the church, during an interval of ten years, with an unexampled degree of activity and perseverance, Galeotto himself fell, in the prime of youth, a sacrifice to the effects of a violent fever, which in a few days consigned him to the grave. The sumptuous parade of his funeral afforded no consolation for his loss to the cardinal de' Medici, who had assiduously attended him in his last moments, and performed towards him all the duties of religion and affection. Deprived of his friend in the ardour of youth, whilst the happiness of the present was increased by the prospect of the future, he long remained inconsolable, and when time had softened his sorrow, the name of Galleotto was never adverted to, even in his most cheerful moments, without exciting the visible symptoms of affectionate remembrance. [r]

Difficulties and embarrassments of the cardinal de' Medici.

In the measures adopted by the cardinal, for effecting his restoration to his native place, he was now no longer in danger of being counteracted by the illtimed efforts and impetuosity of his brother. Although this was the constant object of his solicitude, and he was now considered as the chief of his family, he showed no disposition to interfere in the

[r] *Jovius in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 29.

the concerns, or to disturb the repose of the Florentines, who, under the dictatorship of Pietro Soderini, continued to labour with the difficulties of their government, and the obstinacy of their rebellious subjects, and to maintain at least the name of a republick. It was not, however, without frequent opposition and mortification that Soderini exercised his authority. Many of the citizens of the first rank, still attached to the cause of the Medici, continued to harrass him in all his designs, and to oppose all his measures; but the industry, patience, and perseverance of the *gonfaloniere* gradually blunted their resentment and weakened their efforts, whilst the various and unsuccessful attempts of Piero de' Medici to regain the city of Florence by force, had increased the aversion of his countrymen, and placed an insuperable bar to his return. In these expeditions the resources of the family were exhausted, insomuch, that the cardinal found no small difficulty in supporting the dignity of his rank, to which his ecclesiastical revenues were inadequate. He struggled, however, with these humiliating circumstances to the utmost of his power; but the liberality of his disposition too often exceeded the extent of his finances; and a splendid entertainment was at times deranged by the want of some essential, but unattainable article. Even the silver utensils of his table were occasionally pledged for the purpose of procuring that feast, of which they ought to have been the chief ornaments. That these circumstances occasioned

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him considerable anxiety cannot be doubted; for whilst on the one hand he was unwilling to detract from that character of liberality and munificence which was suitable to his rank, and to the high expectations which he still continued to entertain; on the other hand he dreaded the disgrace of being wanting in the strict discharge of his pecuniary engagements. He carefully, however, avoided giving, even in the lowest ebb of his fortunes, the slightest indications of despondency. His temper was cheerful, his conversation animated, and his appearance and manners betrayed not the least symptom of his domestick embarrassments, for the relief of which, he seemed to depend upon a timely and miraculous supply.[s] Nor was he in general disappointed in his hopes; for the same good fortune which prepared the way to his highest honours, attended him in his greatest difficulties, and enabled him to extricate himself from them with admirable dexterity and irreproachable honour. To the remonstrances of his more prudent friends, who were fearful that his liberality would at length involve him in actual distress, he was accustomed to reply, as if with a presage of his future destiny, that

[s] From a letter of Gregorio Cortese, addressed to the cardinal de' Medici, it appears, that even at this period he had begun to emulate the example of his ancestors, in the promotion of publick institutions for religious purposes.

that great men were the work of providence, and that nothing could be wanting to them, if they were not wanting to themselves. [t]

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In the early part of the year 1504, died Ercole of Este, duke of Ferrara, [u] after having governed his states with great credit, both in war and in peace, during thirty-four years, of which the latter part had been devoted to the embellishing and enlarging his capital, the promotion of the happiness of his subjects, and to the protection and encouragement of the sciences and arts. [v] His great

Death of Ercole duke of Ferrara, and accession of Alfonso I.

1505.

[t] " — insignes viros cœlesti sorte fieri magnos, præterea nihil eis unquam posse deficere, nisi ipsi animis omnino deficerent." *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 31.

[u] He died on the twenty-sixth of January, the very day which he had fixed on for the representation of a comedy for the amusement of the people. *v. Giraldi, Commentarii delle Cose di Ferrara. p.* 137.

[v] *v. Supra, vol.* i *chap.* ii. *p.* 140. " Alexander VI. in his bull of investiture, applauds the useful labours of Hercules I. which had increased the numbers and happiness of his people, which had adorned the city of Ferrara with strong fortifications and stately edifices, and which had reclaimed a large extent of unprofitable waste. The vague and spreading banks of the Po, were confined in their proper channels by moles and dikes, the intermediate lands were converted to pasture and tillage; the fertile district became the granary of Venice, and the corn exports of a single year, were exchanged for the value of two hundred thousand ducats." *V. Gibbon's Antiq. of Brunswick. in opt. posth. vol.* ii. *p.* 691.

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great qualities and heroick actions are celebrated by the pen of Ariosto; who asserts, however, that the advantages which his people derived from them, were inferiour to the blessings which he conferred on them, in leaving two such sons as Alfonso and Ippolito. In the preceding year, his eldest son Alfonso had visited the courts of France and Spain, but at the time when he received intelligence of the dangerous malady of his father, he was in England, whence he hastened to Ferrara, and his father dying before his arrival, he peaceably assumed the government.[w] As the state of Ferrara at this time enjoyed perfect tranquillity, the duke turned his attention to the mechanick arts, in which he became not only a skilful judge, but a practical proficient. His mind was, however, too comprehensive to suffer him to waste his talents on objects of mere amusement. After having excelled the best artificers of his time, he began to devote himself to the improvement of artillery. Under his directions, cannon were cast of a larger size, and better construction than had before been seen in Italy.[x] Of the use which he made of these formidable implements, repeated instances will occur; nor is it improbable

[w] *Jovius, in vita Alfonsi Ducis Ferrariæ. p.* 153. *Murat. Annal. d'Ital.* x. 29.

[x] *Jovius in vita Alfonsi*, 154. *Sardi. Hist. Ferrarese, lib.* xi. *p.* 204.

probable that to these fortunate preparations, he owed the preservation of his dominions, amidst the dangerous contests in which he was soon afterwards compelled to take an important part.

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Tragical event in the family of Este.

The commencement of the reign of Alfonso I. was marked by a most tragical event, which endangered his safety, and destroyed or interrupted his domestick tranquillity. Besides his two sons before mentioned, of whom Ippolito, the younger, had been raised to the dignity of a cardinal, the late duke had left by his wife, Leonora, daughter of Ferdinand I. of Naples, a son named Ferdinand, and by a favourite mistress, an illegitimate son, called Don Giulio. Attracted by the beauty of a lady of Ferrara, to whom they were distantly related, the cardinal and Don Giulio became rivals in her affections; but the latter had obtained the preference, and the lady herself, in confessing to Ippolito her partiality to his brother, dwelt with apparent pleasure on the extraordinary beauty of his eyes. The exasperated ecclesiastick silently vowed revenge, and availing himself of an opportunity whilst he was engaged with Don Giulio in the chase, he surrounded him with a band of assassins, and compelling him to dismount, with a diabolical pleasure saw them deprive him of the organs of sight.[y] The moderation or negligence of

[y] Muratori says, that the cardinal only attempted to put

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of Alfonso, in suffering this atrocious deed to remain unpunished, excited the resentment not only of Don Giulio, but of his brother Ferdinand, who, uniting together, endeavoured by secret treachery to deprive Alfonso at once of his honours and his life. Their purposes were discovered, and after having confessed their crime, they were both condemned to die. The fraternal kindness of Alfonso was not, however, wholly extinguished, and at the moment when the axe was suspended over them, he transmuted their punishment to that of perpetual imprisonment. In this state Ferdinand remained until the time of his death in 1540, whilst Giulio, at the expiration of fifty-four years of captivity was once more restored to liberty. These events, which throw a gloom over the family lustre of the house of Este, and mark the character of the cardinal with an indelible stain, are distinctly, though delicately adverted to in the celebrated poem of Ariosto.

After

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put out the eyes of Don Giulio; but he justly adds, "con "barbarie detestata da ognuno." *Annal. d' Ital.* x. 34. And Guicciardini admits, that he did not lose his sight; or rather he seems to assert, that after his eyes were extruded, they were replaced again by a careful hand! "Al quale dal Cardinale erano stati tratti gli occhi, ma "*riposti*, senza perdità del lume *nel luogo loro*, per presta, "et diligente cura de' Medici." *Hist. d' Ital. lib.* vii. *v.* i. "*p.* 369. *v. et. Jov. in vita Alfonsi. p.* 154. *Gibbon's Antiq. of Brunswick in op. posth.* ii. 701.

Final expulsion of the French from Naples.

After a series of calamities of more than ten years continuance, during which, there was scarcely any part of Italy that had not severely suffered from the effects of pestilence, of famine, and of war, some indications appeared of happier times. The pretensions of Louis XII. to the kingdom of Naples had received an effectual check by the defeat of his troops on the Garigliano, and although the remains of his army had effected a retreat to Gaeta, yet all that now remained for them, was to obtain a capitulation on such terms as should secure to them their liberty and their arms. These terms were readily conceded by Gonsalvo, who permitted his humiliated adversaries to march out from Gaeta with military honours, and to carry off their effects, on condition that they should return to France, either by land or sea, of which he offered them the choice, and furnished them with the opportunity. Both these courses were adopted, and in both, the French soldiery were equally unfortunate. Those who embarked at Gaeta and Naples, perished for the most part by hurricanes, either in the passage, or on their native coasts; whilst those who attempted to return by land, fell a sacrifice to sickness, cold, hunger, and fatigue, insomuch, that the roads were strewed with their dead bodies. This capitulation was speedily followed by a treaty between the contending monarchs, by which it was agreed, that Ferdinand, who had survived his queen, Isabella, and who, on account of his dissensions with his son-in-law,

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law, the archduke Philip, was earnestly desirous of male offspring, should marry the young and beautiful Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII. who should bring with her, as her dower, all such parts of the kingdom of Naples as had been allotted to the French monarch; and in return for these favours, Ferdinand engaged to pay to Louis XII. one million of gold ducats, by annual payments of one hundred thousand ducats, as an indemnity for his expenses in the Neapolitan war.[z] With these favourable indications of returning tranquillity, other circumstances concurred. The power of the Borgia family had been suddenly annihilated by the death of Alexander VI. and the consequent imprisonment and exile of Cesar Borgia; whilst the death of Piero de' Medici, seemed to promise repose to the agitated republick of Florence. Many of the principal Italian leaders, or *Condottieri*, had perished in these contests; others had been stript of their possessions, and so far reduced as to be no longer able to follow the trade of blood; whilst the people, wearied and exhausted by a continual change of masters, by unavailing carnage, by incessant

[z] This treaty, by which these ambitious rivals agreed to become "tanquam duæ animæ in uno et eodem corpore, "amici amicorum, et inimici inimicorum," was concluded at Blois on the twelfth day of October, 1505, and ratified by the king of Spain at Segovia, the sixteenth of the same month. It is preserved in the collection of Du Mont. *vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 72.

cessant alarms, exorbitant exactions, and all the consequences of prolonged hostilities, sighed for that peace which they ought to have commanded, and which alone could remedy those evils of which they had so long been the victims. CHAP. VII. 1505. Æt. 30.

But whilst every thing seemed to conspire in securing the publick tranquillity, the happy effects of which had already begun to be experienced, the supreme pontiff was revolving in his mind, how he might possess himself of the smaller independent states in the vicinity of the Roman territories, and complete the great work which Alexander VI. had so vigorously begun. He had already announced in the consistory, his determination to free the domains of the church from tyrants; alluding, as it was well understood, to the cities of Perugia and Bologna, the former of which was held by the Baglioni, and the latter by the Bentivogli. Nor was he slow in carrying his threats into execution. Having preconcerted his measures with the king of France, who still retained the government of Milan, he placed himself at the head of his army, and accompanied by twenty-four cardinals, left Rome on the twenty-sixth day of August, taking his course towards Perugia.[a] The well known character of the pontiff, and the resolution exhibited by him in these measures, gave

Julius II. seizes on the cities of Perugia and Bologna. 1506.

[a] *Muratori Annali d' Ital. v.* x. *p.* 30.

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gave just alarm to Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who being totally unprepared to resist such an attack, consulted his safety by a timely submission, and proceeding to Orvieto, humiliated himself before the pope, and tendered to him his services. This proceeding in some degree disarmed the resentment of Julius, who received Baglioni into his employ, on condition of his surrendering up the town and citadel of Perugia, and accompanying him, with one hundred and fifty men at arms, on his intended expedition into Romagna.[b] On the twelfth day of September, 1506, the pope entered the city of Perugia, and assumed the sovereignty, which he soon afterwards delegated to the cardinal de' Medici, who from this time began to act a more conspicuous part in the concerns of Italy than he had hitherto done. From Perugia the Pontiff hastened to Imola, whence he summoned Giovanni Bentivolio, to surrender to him the city of Bologna, on pain of bringing down on himself and his adherents, all the power of his temporal and spiritual arms. Bentivolio had, however, prepared for his approach, and relying on the promises of support given him by Louis XII. had determined to resist the attack till the arrival of his allies might relieve him from his dangers. A body of eight thousand infantry, and six hundred horse, had

[b] *Murat. Annal. d' Ital. v.* x. *p.* 31.

had been despatched from Milan to his assistance; but in the present situation of affairs in Italy, Louis had no further occasion for the services of Bentivolio, whilst the favour of the pope might still be of important use to him. He therefore directed the troops, intended for the assistance of Bentivolio, to join the army of his assailants. The duke of Ferrara and the republick of Florence, also sent considerable reenforcements to the pontiff, and Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, was declared with great solemnity captain general of the Roman army. These preparations convinced Bentivolio that all resistance would not only be ineffectual, but ruinous to him. Quitting, therefore, the city by night, he repaired to the French commander, Sciomonte, and having received a safe conduct for himself and his family, he privately hastened into the Milanese, leaving the citizens of Bologna, to effect such terms of reconciliation with the pope, as they might think proper. A deputation from the inhabitants speedily arranged the preliminaries for the admission of the pontiff within the walls, and on the eleventh day of November, 1506, he entered as a conqueror, at the head of his army, amidst the rejoicings and congratulations of the people.[c] After establishing many necessary

[c] *Muratori Annal. d' Ital.* x. 31. These events are also celebrated by Mantuanus Vincentius, in the fourth book of his Latin poem, entitled *Alba. v. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. v.* xi.

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sary and salutary regulations for the due administration of justice, he intrusted the government of the city to the cardinal Regino. On his return to Rome, he passed through the city of Urbino, where he remained for several days, partaking of the splendid amusements which the duke and dutchess had prepared for him.[d]

Among all the commanders who had signalized themselves in the recent commotions of Italy, no one had acquired greater honour and more general esteem, than the great captain Gonsalvo, who after having by his courage and perseverance accomplished the conquest of Naples, had conciliated the exasperated and discordant minds of the people by his clemency, liberality, and strict administration of

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v. xi. *p.* 338, &c. And yet more particularly by cardinal Adrian, one of the companions of the pontiff on his military expedition, in his *Iter Julii II. Pont. Max.*

[d] To this precise period Castiglione has assigned his celebrated dialogue on the character and duties of a courtier, called *Il libro del Cortegiano*—although not written by him till some years afterwards:—"Avendo adunque Papa "Giulio II. con la presenza sua, e con l' ajuto de Francesi, "ridutto Bologna alla obbedienza della Sede Apostolica "nell' anno 1506, e ritornando verso Roma, passò per "Urbino; dove, quanto era possible, onoratamente, e con "quel più magnifico e splendido apparato che si avesse "potuto fare in qualsivoglia altra nobil Città d' Italia, fu "ricevuto, &c. *Castig. Corteg. lib.* i. *p.* 23.

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of justice, and had thereby confirmed to his sovereign that authority which he had previously obtained. These important services had been acknowledged by Ferdinand, who besides appointing Gonsalvo his viceroy in the kingdom of Naples, had invested him with domains in that country, which produced him annually, upwards of twenty thousand gold ducats, and had conferred upon him the high hereditary office of grand constable of the realm. Notwithstanding these external demonstrations of confidence and regard, the jealousy of Ferdinand was excited by the extraordinary greatness of his too powerful subject, which he conceived might inspire him with the hope of obtaining for himself the sovereign authority. No sooner was the mind of the king possessed with this idea, than the virtues of Gonsalvo were converted into crimes, and his well judged attempts to allay the jealousies, and engage the affections of the people, were considered only as preparatory measures to the asserting his own independence. Under the influence of these suspicions, Ferdinand requested the presence of Gonsalvo in Spain, pretending that he wished to avail himself of his councils; but Gonsalvo excused himself, alleging, that the newly acquired authority of his sovereign, was not yet sufficiently established. The injunctions of the king were repeated, and again proved ineffectual. Alarmed at these indications, Ferdinand resolved to hasten in person to Naples, and take the reins of government into his own hands.

Ferdinand of Spain visits his Neapolitan dominions.

He

CHAP. VII. 1506. Æt. 31. He accordingly arrived there with his young queen, about the end of October, 1506, and was met at Capo Miseno, by Gonsalvo, who received him with every demonstration of loyalty and respect. Neither the death of his son-in-law, Philip, of which he received intelligence on his journey through the Genoese, nor the remonstrances of his ministers, who entreated him to return, to take upon himself the government of the kingdom of Castile, could induce Ferdinand to interrupt his journey, or to quit his Neapolitan dominions, until he had effectually secured himself against the possibility of an event, the contemplation of which had occasioned him so much anxiety. After a residence of seven months, in the course of which he established many excellent regulations for the government of his new subjects, and cautiously replaced all the military officers appointed by Gonsalvo, by others on whose fidelity he had greater reliance; he retired, on the fourth day of 1507. June, 1507, from Naples, on his way to Savona, accompanied by Gonsalvo, in whose place he had substituted, as viceroy of Naples, Don John of Aragon. By a previous arrangement with Louis XII. an interview took place at Savona, between the two monarchs, and four days were past in secret and important conferences. The superstition of mankind has sought for the prognosticks of future evils, in the threatening aspects and conjunctions of the planets; but a conjunction of this kind is a much more certain indication of approaching commotions;

motions; nor is it, perhaps, without reason, that the origin of the celebrated league of Cambray, which involved Italy in new calamities, has been referred to this interview. [c] 1507. Æt. 32.

On this occasion the two sovereigns contended with each other in their respect and attention to the great captain. Louis XII. was unwearied in expressing his admiration of the character and talents of a man who had wrested from him a kingdom, and by his solicitations, Gonsalvo was permitted to sit at the same table with the royal guests. As this day, in the estimation of the vulgar, was the highest, so it was considered as the last, of the glory of Gonsalvo. On his arrival in Spain he received a notification from Ferdinand to retire to his country residence, and not to appear at court without leave. From that moment his great talents were condemned to oblivion, and he remained useless and unemployed till the time of his death, in the year 1515; when he received the reward of his services, in a pompous funeral furnished at the expense of the king.

Gonsalvo honoured and neglected.

In reviewing the transactions of his past life, Gonsalvo was accustomed to say, that he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself, except his breach

[c] *v Bembo, Istor. Veneta. lib.* vii.—*in oct. v.* i. *f.* 188, 189.

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breach of faith to Ferdinand, the young duke of Calabria, and the transmitting Cesar Borgia as a prisoner to Spain, contrary to the assurances of protection which he had given him. To these acknowledged errours, he is, however, said to have added, that he had committed another crime, the nature of which he would never explain.[f]

Gonsalvo repents of his errours.

Of these defects in the great captain, and particularly of his conduct towards Cesar Borgia, a vindication has been attempted by Jovius, founded on the atrocious character of Borgia, which, as the apologist contends, justified any measures that might be adopted against him; and on the compliance of Gonsalvo with the commands of his sovereign, and with the wishes of the supreme pontiff.[g] It is not, however, difficult to perceive, that

Vindicated by Paulus Jovius.

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f "Didaco Mendocio, Antonioque Leva me accepisse "profiteor, ut in extremo vitæ actu, tanquam semiexul, "non planè felix (Consalvus) moreretur; quanquam sæpis- "simè diceret, se nullius improbè facti poenitentia offen- "sum, lætissime ex hac vita fuisse migraturum, nisi "Ferdinando Federici regis filio, et Cæsari Borgiæ Valen- "tino, fidem suam, improvidè dedisset, ut ea demum a "rege cum sui nominis sugillatione violaretur. Subjun- "gebat ad hæc duo Consalvus, se tertii quoque gravioris "facti maximè pœnitere, quod tamen prodere nollet."
Jov. in vita Consalv. lib. iii. *p.* 275.

g "Sed quis Consalvum ut id faceret, regis imperio, "coactum

that Gonsalvo, in his treachery to Borgia gave a sanction to those very crimes which he affected to punish. However desirable the destruction of such a man may be, it is still more desirable that those principles of good faith, by which human society is bound together, should be kept sacred and inviolate. The other plea urged by Jovius is equally unsatisfactory. Gonsalvo had acted under the authority of his sovereign when he granted a safe conduct, and neither he nor his king could rightfully revoke an act which had induced another to confide his safety in their hands. It is indeed extremely singular, that the bishop of Nocera should attempt to justify the Spanish general in a transac-

Gonsalvo vindicated by Paulus Jovius.

" coactum, non excuset," &c.——" Verum ob id quoque, " honestiore de causa, majoreque ratione, a fide data dis- " cessisse videri potuit: ne Italiam, dudum sublatis bellis " tranquilla pace, fruituram, unius nefarii impotentisque " tyranni immanis audacia perturbaret." *Jov. ut sup. p.* " 275. How far the peace of Italy was preserved by the conduct of Gonsalvo to Borgia, will sufficiently appear in the sequel; and this apology for Gonsolvo would have been equally applicable if he had extended his treachery to the two sovereigns, with whom he sat at table, and who were meditating greater calamities to Italy, than Borgia could ever have produced. On this subject, I hesitate not to dissent even from the opinion of the liberal de Thou, who informs us, that Borgia, " qui nemini fidem servaverat, " temere se fidei Consalvi permisit; a quo in Hispaniam " missus, et *laudabili perfidia* in carcerem conjectus est." *Hist. lib.* i. *p.* 15.

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transaction in which he could not justify himself. Thus the historian sinks below the soldier, who redeemed his crime by his contrition, and afforded a presumption, that under similar circumstances, he would not again have repeated it: but the vindication of Jovius is intended to recommend to future imitation that guilt of which Gonsalvo repented, and to set up motives of temporary expediency against the eternal laws of morality and of truth.

With respect to the third accusation of Gonsalvo against himself, the *tertium gravius factum*, it has been referred to the errour which he is supposed to have committed, in suffering himself, when he had the whole military force at his command, to be devested of his authority in Naples, and reduced to a state of humiliation and solitude during the remainder of his life.[h] But the friends of Gonsalvo, who thus construed his meaning, were probably mistaken. When a person contemplates the awful period to which he was fast approaching, he seldom repents that he has not sacrificed

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[h] "Id autem Leva & Mendocius, non inani fortè conjectura, interpretantes esse putabant, quòd regiis pollicitationibus e Neapoli Italiaque se abduci in Hispaniam permisisset; in qua multi, rerum novarum cupidi, eum in spem novi principatus, maximarumque rerum bello gerendarum retinere conarentur." *Jovius, in vitâ Consalvi. lib.* iii. *p.* 275.

sacrificed his virtue to his interest, and his conscience to his ambition; and Gonsalvo's third cause of regret would, in this case, have implied a contradiction to his two former. He could probably have unfolded a tale—but he died a penitent, and trusted it with his other sins to the bosom of his God.

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CHAP. VIII.

1507—1512.

CAUSES of the jealousy of the European powers against the republick of Venice—Recent improvements in military discipline—The Venetians repel the attack of the emperour elect, Maximilian—Reasons alleged by Louis XII. for his hostility against them—League of Cambray—Pretexts resorted to by the allies—The Venetians prepare for their defence—Opinions of their commanders—Hostilities commenced—Louis XII. defeats the Venetians at Ghiaradadda—Dismemberment of the Venetian territories—Exe.tions of the Senate—Recovery of Padua and capture of the marquis of Mantua—Ineffectual attack on Padua by the emperour elect Maximilian—The Venetian flotilla defeated on the Po by the duke of Ferrara—Pisa surrenders to the Florentines—Julius II. deserts his allies and unites his arms with the Venetians—Excommunicates the duke of Ferrara—Is besieged by the French in Bologna—Louis XII. opposes the authority of the pope—Mirandula captured by Julius II. in person—Bologna captured by the French—The cardinal of Pavia assassinated by the duke of Urbino—Council of Pisa—The holy league—Julius II. determines to restore the Medici—Bologna besieged by the allies and relieved by de Foix

Foix—Discordant opinions of the cardinal Legate de' Medici and the Spanish general Cardona—Brescia taken and sacked by the French—De Foix attacks Ravenna—Battle before the walls—The allies defeated by de Foix and the cardinal Legate de' Medici made prisoner—Death of de Foix.—The cardinal despatches Giulio de' Medici with intelligence to Rome—Fatal effects of the battle of Ravenna to the French—The cardinal de' Medici conveyed to Bologna—Is brought prisoner to Milan on his way to France.

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THE republick of Venice had hitherto been in a great measure exempt from those evils which had overturned, or endangered, the other states of Italy; but the storm that had so long poured down its wrath on the northern and southern provinces, now began to gather in the east, with a still more threatening aspect. From the advantages of her local situation, and the prudence of her councils, Venice had been enabled, in the course of the wars, in which Italy had been engaged, not only to increase her trade, and improve her naval strength, but also to extend her continental possessions, and to annex to her dominion most of the maritime cities on the Adriatick coast; nor is there any period of her history in which she rose to an equal degree of strength and importance. In the part which she had taken in the commotions of Italy, she had generally acted on the offensive. She had supported her armies at the expense of others, or had obtained a compensation for their labours in

Causes of the jealousy of the European powers against the republick of Venice.

in her conquests.[a] She was now at peace with all the European powers on both sides the Alps, nor was it easy to perceive from what quarter any serious cause of alarm could arise; but in the midst of this prosperity, the mine was preparing, which was intended to involve her in destruction; nor was it long before she experienced its effects, in an explosion which had nearly occasioned her total and irreparable ruin. The motives and effects of her conduct had indeed been too obvious not to excite the jealousy of all the surrounding states. To the emperour, elect Maximilian, her increasing power rendered her a dangerous rival; and Louis XII. seemed to be indebted for his Milanese dominions, rather to her forbearance, than to her inability to deprive him of them. The possession of the cities of Trani, Brindisi, Gallipoli, and Otranto, which had been ceded to her by Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, and which she retained after the conquest of the rest of the kingdom, by Ferdinand of Spain, caused that monarch to regard

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[a] To the overbearing ambition of the Venetians, at this period, Machiavelli alludes, in his *Asino d'Oro*, *cap.* v.

" San Marco, impetuoso ed importuno,
" Credendosi haver sempre il vento in poppa,
" Non si curò di rovinare ognuno:
" Nè vidde come la potenza troppa
" Era nociva; e come il me' sarebbe
" Tener sott' acqua la coda e la groppa."

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regard her as a future enemy, from whom he must at some time wrest those important places. Nor was the part which she had lately acted in Romagna, likely to conciliate the favour of Julius II. who had been compelled to enter into a treaty, which guarantied to her the cities of Faenza and Rimini, and who therefore only waited for a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of those places.[b] But although the republick had excited the envy or resentment of almost all the powers of Europe, yet to reconcile all their discordant interests, and to unite them in one great object, might have been found a difficult, and perhaps an impracticable task, if some peculiar and predisposing circumstances had not prepared the way to such a communication of their mutual dissatisfaction, as speedily terminated in the adoption of open hostilities against her.

Recent improvements in military discipline.

Since the time of the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy, a considerable alteration had taken place in the mode of warfare, and the military preparations of the sovereigns of Europe. Before that important event, a regular standing army of infantry, set apart from the community for the purposes of war, was unknown. Sudden levies were raised as occasion required, and when the contest was over, they again returned to the general mass of

[b] *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv.* 1. *v.* i. *p.* 39.

of the inhabitants. The strength of an army consisted almost entirely in the number of its armed cavalry, who were denominated *gensdarmes*, *lances*, or *men at arms*, and when united together, were emphatically called the *battle*. Into these ranks none were admitted, for a long time, but gentlemen by birth. Every man at arms brought with him into the field a certain number of horses and attendants, which varied in different countries and at different times. The full appointment of a man at arms in France, was six horses and four men on foot, two of whom were archers; but in Italy the number of horses seldom exceeded three. When in actual engagement, the archers generally composed the second and third ranks, in which station they were also at hand to render any services to the men at arms, who, from the weight and nature of their armour and offensive weapons, stood in frequent need of assistance. In the contests of Charles VIII. in Italy, and particularly at the battle of the Taro, the use of the foot soldiery, or *fanti*, began to be better known and more highly appreciated; but the first nation which gave respectability and importance to this mode of warfare, was the Swiss, who raised the discipline of infantry to a degree of perfection which has seldom been since equalled, and perhaps never excelled. In the assembling of the numerous bodies of troops, which in the beginning of the sixteenth century were poured forth from the Helvetick states, and who sold their assistance to

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the highest bidder, the services of the individual seem to have been voluntary, and his motive and his reward were generally his share of the subsidy, or his chance of the spoil. When in action the Swiss were remarkable for their discipline and firmness, but above all for their fidelity and unshaken attachment to each other. Their armour consisted of a casque and breast plate, or when these could not be procured, the skin of a buffalo, or other beast; their usual weapons were a halbert, which, when not employed was slung at their back, a sword, and a pike of eighteen feet in length. When united together, they formed a kind of moveable fortification, called the *herisson*, against which the utmost efforts of the cavalry were of no avail. They were in an army what the bones are in a human body,[c] but when once thrown into disorder, they were not easily prevailed on to renew the conflict. Before the end of the fifteenth century, the French sovereigns had frequently experienced the value of their assistance, and the ill effects of their resentment; and they may be considered as having set the example of a regular system of infantry to the other nations of Europe. One of the earliest establishments of this nature in France consisted of a body of six thousand men, subsidized from the duke of Gueldres by Louis

[c] *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv.* iii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 11.

Louis XII. who were denominated the *bandes noires*, or black bands, because they fought under a black standard; by which name they acquired great reputation in the wars of Italy. [d] The Spanish infantry which had been chiefly formed in the wars of Naples by the great captain Gonsalvo, were remarkable beyond all others for their courage, sobriety, and discipline. Besides the pike, the battle-axe and the poniard, they were generally armed with a heavy harquebuss. In an attack, when their numbers bore a reasonable proportion to the enemy, they were considered as irresistible; and even when defeated, they seldom took to flight without rallying and returning with fresh ardour to the charge. Besides the *gensdarmes*, bodies of light armed cavalry began about this time to be frequently employed; and large troops of horse were also obtained from the continental territories of the state of Venice, and the adjacent provinces of Greece, who fought in the irregular manner of the Turks, and under the names of *stradiotti*, or hussars, were the usual harbingers of an attack, and the terrour of a defeated enemy.

Towards the close of the year 1507, the emperour elect, Maximilian, having some important designs upon Italy, the object of which he did not choose

[d] *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, *liv.* iii. *v.* ii. *p.* 13.

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choose to define, but which he disguised under the pretence that he meant to proceed to Rome, to receive from the hands of the pope the imperial crown, requested permission from the Venetians to pass with his army through their states. The senate were at this time in strict alliance with Louis XII. and being apprehensive, that Maximilian meant to attack the Milanese, and unwilling to afford any pretext for a rupture with the French monarch, they refused to comply with his request; at the same time assuring him of an honourable and respectful reception, and a safe conduct for himself and retinue, in case he wished to pass in a pacifick manner through their dominions. On this refusal, Maximilian resolved to effect a passage by force, and descending through the Tyrol, he entered the Venetian states in the beginning of the year 1508, and captured several important places in the district of Friuli.[c] He was, however, soon opposed by Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who had lately entered into the service of the Venetians, and who having by rapid marches, unexpectedly attacked the imperialists, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, at Codauro, defeated them with

The Venetians repel the attack of the emperour elect, Maximilian.

1508.

[c] A very particular account of these transactions is given by Machiavelli, then the Florentine envoy at Venice, in a report addressed to the magistrates of Florence, which contains many interesting particulars of the state of Germany, and the character of Maximilian. *v. Bandini, coll. vet. monument. p.* 37. *Arrezzo.* 1752.

with such slaughter, that scarcely one of them survived to carry to Maximilian the intelligence of his disaster.[f] The Venetians, having thus speedily recovered their own possessions, attacked in return the territories of their adversary, and would have possessed themselves of the city of Trent, and the whole district of the Tyrol, had not the inhabitants, although deserted by the imperialists, courageously defended their country. Humiliated by these events, Maximilian listened with eagerness to terms of accommodation; and a treaty of peace, for three years, was, on the sixth day of June 1508, concluded between him and the senate, which seemed once more to have restored the publick tranquillity.

Causes alleged by Louis XII. for his animosity against the Venetians.

This hasty reconciliation gave, however, great dissatisfaction to Louis XII. who, being at enmity with Maximilian, and having despatched a body of troops under the command of Trivulzio, to the assistance of the Venetians, although with directions, as it was supposed, rather to regard the motions of the adverse armies, than to take an active

[f] This victory, the most complete that ever d'Alviano obtained, and which was considered as the salvation of the state of Venice, is particularly noticed by Navagero, in his funeral elogy on that great commander, in which he informs us, that the imperialists "ne nuncio quidem cladis relicto, "cæsi sunt." *v. Naugerii opt. Ed. Tacuini*, 1530. *p.* 3.

CHAP. VIII. 1508. Æt. 33.

active part on the behalf of either,[g] affected to be highly offended that the Venetians should have accommodated their differences with Maximilian, without previously consulting him on the terms proposed. It is true, the senate had in the treaty reserved a power for the king of France to accede to it, if he should think proper, of which power he afterwards availed himself; but he was no party to the preamble, and was introduced only as their auxiliary, like a potentate of a secondary rank.[h] Affecting great displeasure at this apparent insult, and perhaps alarmed at the increasing power of the Venetians, Louis now determined to accommodate his differences with Maximilian, and to secure or extend his Milanese possessions, by the humiliation of these haughty republicans. For the attainment of the first of these objects, he had recourse to a stratagem, which sufficiently proves, that in political artifice the French were not inferiour to the Italians. Whilst he assigned as a cause of his resentment against the Venetians, their want of confidence in him, he despatched his envoys to Maximilian, to inform him, that the Venetians had disclosed to him the most secret particulars of the negotiation; thereby endeavouring to convince Maximilian that they had betrayed his

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[g] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia,* x. 38.

[h] *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. liv.* i. *vol.* i. *p.* 64.

his interests, and to excite his anger against his new allies, who had treated him with so much duplicity and disrespect.[1] By such representations the fluctuating mind of Maximilian again changed its purpose, and his resentment against the senate was confirmed, on finding that his name and achievements had been made the subject of caricature exhibitions, and of satirical ballads, which were sung through the streets of Venice. The animosity that had so long subsisted between these rival monarchs, was by these means suddenly extinguished. The representations made by Louis XII. to Julius II. and to Ferdinand of Aragon, were equally successful; and the attack and dismemberment of the states of Venice was determined on, with a celerity and unanimity, which seemed to ensure success to the attempt.

1508. Æt. 33.

League of Cambray.

In the month of October, 1508, the plenipotentiaries of the confederate powers met in the city of Cambray. The representative of Maximilian was his daughter, Margaretta, the same princess who had been repudiated by Charles VIII. and who having survived her second husband, Philibert, duke of Savoy, had undertaken, during the minority of the archduke Charles, the government of the Netherlands, which she conducted with great credit and ability. George of Amboise, cardinal

[1] *Bembo, Istor. Venet. lib.* vii. *in opt. vol.* i. *p.* 188.

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dinal of Rohan, appeared in the two-fold capacity of ambassadour of Loüis XII. and legate of the pope, and Jacopo de Albion, as the envoy of the king of Spain. On the tenth day of December, a treaty was concluded for the attack and dismemberment of the territories of Venice.[j] By the terms of this treaty, Maximilian was to possess the cities and districts of Rovereta, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and Friuli, and the patriarchate of Aquileja, with all places of which he had been devested by the Venetians in the course of the late war. The king of France stipulated for the cities of Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, and Cremona, and the whole district of Ghiaradadda, as part of the ancient possessions of the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand of Spain was to be remunerated for his share in the war, by the restitution of the maritime cities of Naples; and the pope was to recover the territories in Romagna, which on the expulsion of Cesar Borgia, had been occupied by the Venetians, and which included the cities of Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza and Rimini. To these were also added, in the treaty, the cities of Imola and Cesena, which were not then under the Venetian government, and which it has been supposed were inserted through the ignorance of the cardinal of

j This treaty is given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplomat. tom.* i. *p.* 134. and in the collection of Dumont, *tom.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 114.

of Rohan;[k] but it is much more probable, that these places yet retained their allegiance to Borgia, and required the aid of the confederates to reduce them to the obedience of the church. A power was reserved for the duke of Savoy, as king of Cyprus, the duke of Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, to become parties in the league; to which they afterwards acceded; and that nothing might be wanting to overwhelm or terrify the devoted republick of Venice, the kings of England and of Hungary, were also invited to take a share in the attack.

Pretexts resorted to by the allies.

As Maximilian had so lately entered into a treaty of amity with the Venetians, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, and as no offence had since been given by them, which could be construed into a justification of hostilities on his part, it became necessary to resort to some measure which might afford, in the eyes of the world, a sufficient reason for the part which he intended to act. For the accomplishment of this object, and to satisfy the honour and conscience of Maximilian, it was therefore expressly agreed, that Julius II. who it seems stood in no need of any pretext for infringing the treaty which he had himself entered into, should call

[k] *Muratori Annali d' Italia.* x. *p.* 39. *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv.* i. *tom.* i. *p.* 50.

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call upon the emperour elect, as defender of the rights of the church, to assist in asserting its claims; and that Maximilian should within forty days after the first of April, 1509, the day particularly agreed on for the commencement of hostilities, enter the Venetian territories at the head of his army, without further regard either to his alliances, or his oath. The nature and object of this treaty were, however, cautiously concealed from the Venetians, under the pretext that it related to an accommodation between the archduke Charles, and the duke of Gueldres; and in order to give a greater degree of probability to this assertion, another treaty was actually concluded between those parties, which bears the same date as that which it was intended to conceal. [1]

The rumours of the measures adopted at Cambray, and the preparations making by the chief powers of Europe for some great undertaking, from which the Venetians were cautiously excluded, at length excited their suspicions, and they directed Condelmaro, their ambassadour at the court of France, to obtain such explanations from the cardinal of Rohan, as might allay their apprehensions, or justify their conduct in preparing for their

[1] This treaty is also published in the collection of Dumont. *vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 109.

their defence. The cardinal attempted for a time to impose on the Venetian envoy, by equivocal assurances and crafty representations; but finding these would not avail, he had recourse to direct falsehood, and assured the envoy on the faith of a cardinal, and a prime minister, that the king would still adhere to the treaty of Blois, and that nothing had occurred at Cambray which could be injurious to the Venetian republick.[m] These assurances were, if we may give credit to Bembo, confirmed by the king himself; who pledged his faith to Condelmaro to the same effect; and added, that he considered himself as the friend of the senate, and consequently would not have consented to any measures which might prove prejudicial to its interests.[n]

The Venetians prepare for their defence.

No sooner, however, were the Venetians aware of the magnitude of the danger with which they were threatened, than they began to prepare for a vigorous defence. Nor did they neglect such measures

[m] *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. liv.* i. 1. 70.

[n] *Bembo. Istor. Venet. lib.* vii. *in op. v.* i. *p.* 189. The French historians affect to justify this fraud, by considering it as a retribution for the deception practised by the senate, on the French ambassadour, Commines, when they formed the league for intercepting Charles VIII. on his return from Italy, and which he has so fully related in his *memoires*. *v. Ligue de Cambray, liv.* i. *v.* i. *p.* 71.

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measures as they thought most likely to avert the anger, or to soften the resentment of their enemies. They proposed to Julius II. to surrender up to him the places which they had occupied in Romagna; and they employed their utmost efforts to detach the emperour elect, and the king of Spain, from their alliance with the king of France. Repulsed in these attempts, they resorted for assistance to the other powers of Europe, and endeavoured to prevail on the king of England to attack the dominions of France, whilst Louis XII. and his gensdarmes were beyond the Alps;[o] nor did they hesitate, in this dangerous emergency, to call upon the Turkish emperour, Bajazet, for his assistance against the confederates, who by the very terms of their alliance, had avowed their hostility against him. Towards whatever quarter they turned for aid, they met only with disappointment or neglect; and the republick was left, without a single ally, to oppose itself to a combination more powerful than any that Europe had known since the time of the crusades. Their spirit was, however, unbroken, and their resources such as might be expected from a rich and powerful people. Their generals were soon enabled to take the field at the head of forty

[o] The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Andrea Badoardo, who had resided many years in England, and was well acquainted with the language. *Bembo. Istor. Venet. lib.* vii. *in op. vol.* i. *p.* 191.

forty thousand men, under the various descriptions of infantry, men at arms, light horse, and *stradiotti*, or hussars, composed chiefly of Greeks. A powerful naval armament was at the same time directed to cooperate with the army, whenever it might be practicable; but at the very moment when every effort was making to increase the maritime strength of the country, the arsenal, at that time the admiration of Europe, was treacherously set on fire, by which a considerable quantity of ammunition and naval stores, and twelve of their gallies of war were destroyed. A few days afterwards, information was received that the castle of Brescia was blown up; and about the same time the building fell, in which were kept the archives of the republick; incidents, which from the critical period at which they occurred, gave reason to the superstitious to believe, that the destruction of the republick was near at hand.[p]

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The chief military commanders in the service of the senate at this period, were Niccolo Orsino, count of Pitigliano, and Bartolommeo d'Alviano, both of them men of great courage and experience, but of very different characters; d'Alviano being daring and impetuous, almost to rashness, whilst the

[p] These events are adverted to in the Latin verses of Valeriano, addressed to his preceptor, Sabellicus, the Vetian historian.

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the count was cool, deliberate, and cautious, to an opposite extreme. The object of the one was to terminate a war by a single effort; that of the other to defeat the enemy by involving him in difficulties, so as to prevent even the necessity of an engagement. One of the first measures of the senate, was to call these commanders to Venice, and to request their deliberate sentiments on the best methods to be adopted for the defence of the state. These opinions were conformable to the different tempers and views of those who delivered them. The count of Pitigliano advised the senate to fortify their continental cities, and to act upon the defensive, until events should occur, which might weaken or destroy a league, that had within itself the principles of dissolution. D'Alviano, on the contrary, contended that it was more expedient to take the field before their enemies were prepared for the attack; and rather to carry the war into the states of Milan, than to wait the approach of the French king within the Venetian territories. Without wholly adopting either of these opinions, the senate steered a middle course; and whilst they prepared for the defence of their strong cities, they directed that their generals should not proceed beyond the river Adda.[q]

Scarcely

[q] *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib.* viii. 1. 416. *Muratori Annali*, x. 42.

Scarcely had the Venetian army taken the field, when the tempest burst upon that devoted state from all quarters. Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew to the pope, and who was now become duke of Urbino, proceeded through the territories of Faenza, and stormed the town of Brisinghalla, where he put to death upwards of two thousand persons, and by his unsparing cruelty, led the way to still greater enormities. The marquis of Mantua attacked the district of Verona, but was vigorously opposed by d'Alviano. Amidst the storm of war, Julius II. rolled forth the thunders of the Vatican, and placed the state of Venice under the interdict of the church.[r] The French army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, of whom six thousand were Swiss mercenaries, and of five thousand horse, with Louis XII. at their head, passed the Adda at Cassano, and captured the towns of Trevigli, Rivolto, and other places, which they sacked; but on the approach of the count of Pitigliano, they retreated across the river, having first garrisoned the fortress of Trevigli. The count, having bombarded the fortress with heavy artillery, compelled the garrison, after an obstinate defence, to surrender; but no sooner were the Venetian soldiery in possession of the town, than they followed the example of their enemies, in slaughtering and despoiling the unfortunate inhabitants. Such was the

[r] *Guicciard. Hist. Ital. lib.* viii. 1. 418.

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the licentiousness of the troops, that the dicipline of the army was greatly relaxed; and before they could be compelled to return to their duty, it was found necessary to complete the ruin of the inhabitants, by setting fire to the town. This disgraceful incident afforded the king an opportunity of again passing the Adda, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

Louis XII. defeats the Venetians at Ghiaradadda.

In the beginning of the month of May, 1509, the two armies were opposed to each other, in the district of Ghiaradadda,[s] where the king made several efforts to compel the Venetian commanders to a decisive engagement. For some time the advice of the count of Pitigliano, to avoid so hazardous a measure, prevailed; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano seconded the views of the king, and after some partial movements, it became no longer possible to avoid an engagement. The vanguard of the French army was led by the marshal Trivulzio; the centre by the king in person, accompanied by Charles of Amboise, sieur de Sciomonte, and governour of Milan; and the rear by the sieur de la Palisse. Of the Venetian army, d'Alviano led the attack; the count of Pitigliano with the battle, or cavalry, occupied the centre; and the rear guard was

[s] *Ghiara*, a gravelly beach or bed of a river; hence *Ghiara d'Adda*, or the beach of the river Adda, from which the whole district is denominated.

was commanded by Antonio de' Pii, accompanied by the Venetian commissaries. The action, which took place on the fourteenth day of May, at a place called Agnadello, continued only three hours; but in that time, upwards of ten thousand men lay dead on the field, of whom the greater part were Italians. D'Alviano, after displaying many instances of undoubted courage, was wounded and taken prisoner, and the French remained complete masters of the day, with the artillery, standards, and ammunition of the vanquished.[t] The count of Pitigliano with a small body of cavalry, escaped to Caravaggio. Some authors have asserted that the defeat of the Venetians is chiefly to be attributed to the misconduct of the count, who disgracefully fled in the midst of the battle;[u] but the senate were too severe judges to allow such an instance of treachery, or of cowardice, to pass without a bitter retribution; instead of which we find the count

[t] This victory of the French monarch is celebrated by Antonius Sylviolus in a Latin poem, entitled De triumphali atque insigni Christianissimi Invictissimique Francorum Regis Lodovici XII. in venetos victoria, addressed to George of Amboise, cardinal of Rohan, and printed without note of year or place. This production affords much particular information respecting the circumstances and consequences of this important contest, and is not devoid of poetical merit.

[u] *apt. Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. v.* x. *p.* 44.

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count soon afterwards confidentially employed in their service. The result of the battle, if not to be attributed to the superiour courage and impetuosity of the assailants, among whom the celebrated Gaston de Foix, then very young, was greatly distinguished, may be accounted for from the whole of the French army having been brought into action, whilst the Italians engaged only in detached bodies; in consequence of which their vanguard was defeated with an immense loss, before their cavalry, in which consisted the strength of their army, could take a part in the contest.

Before Louis XII. proceeded to reap the fruits of his victory, he determined to give a signal proof of his piety and his gratitude, by erecting a church on the field of battle. An edifice was accordingly raised on the very spot which yet streamed with the blood of those who had died in defence of their country, and was designated by the name of *S. Maria della Vittoria*, although it might with much more propriety have been dedicated to the god of treachery, of rapine, and of slaughter. This structure has been considered by the French as an omen of success in subsequent times; the duke of Vendosme having, in the beginning of the last century, defeated the imperial army within sight of its walls.[v]

The

[v] *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv.* i. *tom.* i. *p.* 122.

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Dismemberment of the Venetian territories.

The intelligence of this decisive engagement, and the terrour of the French arms, facilitated their progress through the Venetian dominions. The districts of Ghiaradadda and Caravaggio, the cities of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, instantly surrendered to the conqueror. The fortress of Peschiera, defended only by five hundred men, for some time resisted his efforts, but overpowered by the French artillery, the besieged at length desired to capitulate, and made frequent signals that they were ready to surrender. Their submission was ineffectual. The assailants entering the citadel by storm, put all persons within it to the sword, and seizing upon the Venetian commissary Andrea Riva and his son, hung them from the walls of the castle.[w] Notwithstanding the partiality of the French historians to the conduct and character of Louis XII. it is acknowledged, that on this occasion he appeared to have forgotten his maxims of clemency;[x] and it would have been well for the reputation of that monarch, if the observation could have been confined only to this event. Misfortunes so unexpected, and atrocities so unparalleled, struck the senate with terrour; and despairing of any further defence of their

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[w] *Muratori, Annal. d'Italia*, x. 45.

[x] "Il ne se piqua pas de faire usage envers cette garnison de ses maximes sur la clemence. Elle fut passée au fil de l'epée." *Ligue de Camb. lib.* i. 1. 25.

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their continental possessions, they only sought how they might most effectually mitigate the resentment, or gratify the ambition of their numerous adversaries. They therefore signified to Julius II. their readiness to surrender to him the whole of their possessions in Romagna; they proposed to relinquish unconditionally to Ferdinand of Spain the cities which they held on the Neapolitan coast; and they despatched an ambassadour to the emperour elect, Maximilian, informing him that they had already given directions to their governours at Verona and Vicenza to deliver those places up to him, as soon as he should make his appearance.[y] Maximilian, however, displayed no great ardour in availing himself of the advantages prepared for him by his allies; but in due time the imperial army arrived, and triumphantly took possession of those cities, as well as of Padua, without being under the necessity of making a hostile effort.[z] Whilst the chief parties to the league were thus appro-

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y The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Antonio Giustiniano, to whom Guicciardini has attributed a most humiliating oration, the authenticity of which has been greatly doubted. The author of the history of the League of Cambray has entered at large into this subject, which seems, however, to have given rise to more discussion than it deserves. *v. Ligue de Cambr.* 1. 137. also *Murat.* x. 47. The oration of Giustiniano is given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplomat.* 2. 1999.

z *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, x. 46.

appropriating to themselves their share of the spoil, the inferiour allies were not idle. Alfonso duke of Ferrara, now dignified with the title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, possessed himself of the Polesine, and of the districts of Este, Montagnano, and Monfelice, the ancient heritages of his family.[a] Other commanders eagerly embraced this opportunity of stripping the Venetians of their possessions. Cristoforo Frangipani seized upon several fortresses in Istria, and the duke of Brunswick rendered himself master of Feltri, and Belluno, with several parts of Friuli. Never before had the Venetian lion been so shorn of his honours, never had St. Mark been so inattentive to the interests of his faithful votaries, as on this occasion.[b]

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Exertions of the Senate.

In the midst of their calamities, the Venetians had, however, some peculiar advantages. The situation of their capital, surrounded by the waves of the Adriatick, secured them from the apprehensions of total destruction. Whatever the limbs might

[a] *Gibbon, Antiq. of the House of Brunswick, in opt. posth. vol.* ii. *p.* 685.

[b] About this time, when the humiliation and distresses of Italy were at their height; when the Milanese was occupied by the French, the kingdom of Naples by the Spaniards, and the territories of Venice were divided among its rapacious assailants, Machiavelli wrote his *Capitolo dell' Ambizione*, in which he indignantly condemns the imbecility, and pathetically laments the miseries of his country.

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might suffer, the head was sound, and capable of strong exertion. In their numerous and well appointed fleet, they had a bulwark which defied the utmost malice of their enemies. If, under these circumstances, they appeared to have resigned themselves to despair, it was not of long continuance, and the depression served only to give a more elastick impulse to their efforts. Their attempts to mitigate the anger of Julius II. had hitherto been as ineffectual as their submissive representations to Maximilian. A persecution so relentless, instead of continuing to excite their terrour, began at length to awaken their resentment; and the senate resounded with the most unqualified abuse of the father of the faithful, who was represented as much better qualified for the office of a publick executioner, than for that to which he had been promoted. They therefore began to collect together the remains of their unfortunate army; they directed the soldiers who had garrisoned their fortresses in Romagna and the kingdom of Naples, to repair to Venice; and they obtained from Istria, Albania, and Dalmatia, considerable bodies of brave and experienced troops. The count of Pitigliano exerted his utmost efforts in their service; and by his personal credit and authority, and the liberal rewards which he offered, he induced many of the Italian *condottieri* to join his standard with their followers. In a short time, the Venetians were enabled to oppose the imperialists in the vicinity of Trevigi, where they defeated a body of troops

troops under the command of Constantine, despot of the Morea, who, after having been despoiled of his dominions by the Turks, had engaged in the service of Maximilian.

Recovery of Padua, and capture of the marquis of Mantua.

This success led the way to bolder efforts, and the count of Pitigliano was directed to attempt the recovery of the important city of Padua, which under the impressions of terrour had been surrendered to the imperialists. The inhabitants, already disgusted by the licentiousness of the German soldiery, had shown a manifest disposition to return to the obedience of their former lords.[c] By the united efforts of treachery and of force, the count of Pitigliano succeeded in obtaining possession of the city; the Germans betook themselves to flight, and such of the Paduan nobility as had favoured their cause, severely expiated, by imprisonment, by exile, or by death, their versatility, or their treachery. This event, which was considered as of infinite importance to the republick, took place on the feast of S. Marina, the seventeenth day of July, 1509,[d] and was speedily followed by another scarcely

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[c] *Murat. Annali d'Ital. v.* x. *p.* 48.

[d] The author of the History of the League of Cambray has placed it on the eighteenth of June, in which he is contradicted by the evidence of the whole body of the Venetian historians, who could not be mistaken in a day which was long afterwards solemnized in Venice, as the commencement

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scarcely of inferiour importance. Francesco, marquis of Mantua, having withdrawn himself into the island of Scala, with a small party of troops, was unexpectedly attacked by a body of the Venetians, assisted by the neighbouring inhabitants, who, under favour of the night, dispersed and plundered his soldiers. The marquis amidst the alarm descended from a window, almost naked, and endeavoured to shelter himself in a corn field; but was betrayed by a peasant, to whom he had promised a great reward, if he would favour his escape. Being made a prisoner, he was first brought to Lignano, and afterwards sent to Venice, where he was committed to the *Torreselle*, in which prison he made a long abode. [c]

The return of Louis XII. to France soon after the battle of Ghiaradadda was another circumstance highly favourable to the republick; nor was this

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mencement of the rise of the republick. *v. Murat. Annali d'Italia.* x. 49.

[c] *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib.* v. *p.* 125. *Murat. Annal* x. 51. It was probably on this occasion that the poet Tebaldeo wrote his Capitolo in the name of the marquis of Mantua, in which that prince is supposed to lament the severity of his fate, and his unmerited misfortunes. *v. Tebald. op. Capit.* 13. This disaster of the marquis is also referred to by Mantuanus Vicentius, in his poem entitled *Alba, lib.* iv. *v. Carm. illust. poet. Ital. v.* xi. *p.* 342.

this advantage greatly counteracted by the efforts of the emperour elect Maximilian, who, towards the end of the month of August, arrived in Italy, at the head of a considerable body of troops, of various nations, languages, and manners, bringing with him an immense train of artillery, with which he immediately applied himself to the recovery of Padua.[f] He was reenforced by Ippolito, cardinal of Este, who following the example of the pontiff, marched in his ecclesiastical habiliments at the head of his troops. After having for some time desolated the defenceless country, and captured a few places of little importance, Maximilian commenced, in the month of September, the siege of Padua, with an army and an apparatus that seemed to command success. The Venetians were, however, indefatigable in preparing for its defence. With a magnanimity which has seldom been equalled, the doge Loredano requested that the senate would permit him to send his children, to be shut up

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Ineffectual attempt on Padua by the emperour elect Maximilian.

[f] The author of the history of the league of Cambray states them at 1700 men at arms, and 32,000 infantry. *Ligue de Camb. lib.* i. *tom.* i. *p.* 198. But Nardi, who has given the numbers of the particular bodies of the different nations composing the army, states the cavalry to have been more, and the infantry less. To these however were added two hundred pieces of artillery, besides ten pieces of cannon, of extraordinary size, with which Maximilian was furnished by the duke of Ferrara. *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib.* v. *p.* 126.

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up within the besieged city. His proposal was received with joy. The enthusiasm of the young nobility of Venice was excited to the highest degree, and three hundred of them voluntarily accompanied the sons of the doge to Padua.[g] The contest continued during fifteen days, with the loss on both sides of many thousand lives. On the twenty-seventh day of September, Maximilian made his last effort, and attempted to carry the place by storm; and that the courage of his troops might be excited by national emulation, the Germans, the French, and the Spaniards, were directed to assail the place in three different bodies. A vigorous resistance, however, frustrated the efforts of Maximilian, and destroyed his hopes. Looking around him he saw his army thinned by desertion. The sum of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats which he had obtained from the pope, was already expended, and there appeared no possibility of a further supply. He therefore abandoned the siege, and withdrew with his army to Vicenza,[h] whence, after dismissing from his service a great part of his followers, whom he was no longer able to pay, he returned to Vienna, to add one more to his former triumphs;

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[g] *Bembo Istoria Veneta, lib.* ix. *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. liv.* i. *tom.* i. *p.* 196.

[h] *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* viii. 1. 453. *Bembo, Istoria Veneta, lib.* ix.

triumphs; whilst the Venetians not only retained the city of Padua, but soon afterwards recovered from him the principal part of the district of Friuli.[i]

The Venetians defeated by the duke of Ferrara.

Among the confederate powers, no one had excited the resentment of the Venetians in so great a degree as Alfonso duke of Ferrara, and they no sooner began to recover their strength, than they resolved

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[i] The life and achievements of Maximilian have been ostentatiously represented in a series of engravings, designed under his own inspection, by Hans Burgmair, and executed in wood, by the best artists of the time. They are accompanied by descriptions, dictated by Maximilian himself, to his secretary Mark Treitzaurwein. The various employments of Maximilian, his marriages, his battles, and his treaties, are exhibited in a greater number of prints than would have sufficed for the labours of Hercules, or the conquests of Alexander the Great; but his hunters, his hawkers, his tournaments, and his buffoons, occupy the greater part of the work. This collection he denominates his triumph. CE TRIOMPHE A ETE EXECUTE A LA LOUANGE ET LA MEMOIRE ETERNELLE DE SPLAISIRS NOBLES ET DES VICTOIRES GLORIEUSES DU SERENISSIME ET TRES ILLUSTRE PRINCE ET SEIGNEUR MAXIMILIEN ELU EMPEREUR ROMAIN ET CHEF DE LA CHRETIENTE, ROI ET HERETIER DE SEPT ROYAUMES CHRETIENS ARCHIDUC D'AUTRICHE DUC DE BOURGOGNE ET D'AUTRES GRAND PRINCIPAUTES ET PROVINCES DE L'EUROPE, &c. The original blocks, or engravings in wood, have only been of late years discovered, and the work was published in 1796, in large folio.

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resolved to punish him for the active part which he had taken against them. For this purpose they prepared an armament of eighteen gallies, with a large supply of ammunition, and a considerable body of troops, which proceeding up the Po, devastated the country on each side, and filled the inhabitants of Ferrara with terrour. Alfonso at the head of his troops, and with a powerful reenforcement from the French, hastened to oppose their progress; and a bloody engagement took place at Polesella, in which Lodovico Pico, count of Mirandula, perished by a shot, whilst standing at the side of the cardinal of Este. A few days afterwards, the Venetians entered the city of Comacchiò, which, with a barbarity common to all parties, they delivered up to the fury of the soldiery. A severe retribution, however, awaited them; under covert of the night, the cardinal of Este had brought down a large train of heavy artillery to the banks of the river; one part of which he stationed above, and the other below the Venetian flotilla. At break of day he opened these batteries upon them, with such effect as to overwhelm them in inevitable destruction. Two of the gallies perished in the midst of the stream, a third was destroyed by fire, and whilst the Venetians were attempting to escape with the remainder of their fleet, they were attacked by several barks, strongly manned with soldiers from Ferrara, and were totally routed. The loss of the Venetians on this occasion

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occasion exceeded three thousand men, and Ippolito led fifteen gallies in triumph to Ferrara.[j]

Pisa surrenders to the Florentines.

The example of the dreadful enormities committed by the conquering party upon every place which resisted their arms, was an awful lesson to the inhabitants of Pisa, who, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Florentines, had hitherto defended their city, and refused all terms of reconciliation. A bold, but unsuccessful attempt, made by the assailants to turn the course of the Arno, served only to give new courage to the besieged; but the Florentines had at length reduced the art of famishing to a system, and deprived the inhabitants of Pisa of all hopes of supply. Expedients horrid to relate were resorted to; but human efforts are bounded by human weakness, and the long sufferings of the people of Pisa now approached their termination. Propositions were at length made

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[j] Ariosto has not forgotten to celebrate this important incident in the life of his patron,

> " Costui con pochi a piedi, e meno in sella
> " Veggio uscir mesto e ritornar giocondo;
> " Che *quindici galee* mena captive,
> " Oltra mill' altri legni a le sue rive."
>
> *Orl. Fur. Cant.* iii. *st.* 57.

The same occasion has also afforded a subject for several of the Latin poets of the time.

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made by the inhabitants for the surrender of the place, by which they reserved to themselves considerable rights, and claimed great indulgences. To these the Florentines willingly and wisely acceded, and on the eighth day of June, 1509, their commissioners entered the city, and by the generosity of their conduct, their strict observance of the stipulated terms, and their attention to repair the injuries of the war, soon convinced the inhabitants that they had been contending, for the space of nearly fifteen years, with unexampled obstinacy and incredible sufferings, against their own real interests. [k]

Hitherto the Venetians had relied only on their own courage and resources, and in spite of all the efforts of the powerful league which had been so unexpectedly formed against them, their affairs continued daily to improve, when the loss of the count of Pitigliano, who had served them many years with great fidelity, deranged their military operations, and excited their just regret. His death was attributed to the fatigues which he had suffered in the service of the republick, and so sensible were the senate of his merits, that they erected

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[k] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia.* x. 54.

erected to his memory a statue of brass, with an honourable inscription. [1]

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But whilst the Venetians were thus struggling with their misfortunes, a favourable gleam at length appeared, and gave them the promise of fairer times. Julius II. by the recovery of Romagna, had accomplished the object which had induced him to become a party in the league of Cambray. If this could have been done without the intervention of his allies, he would gladly have dispensed with their services; but having now reaped the full benefit of their assistance, his next consideration was, how he might best secure the advantages which he had obtained. The rapid successes of the French, compared with the tardy progress and fruitless attempts of Maximilian, seemed likely to give them a preponderating influence in Italy; and the destruction of the Venetian republick would have rendered Louis XII. the sovereign of all the northern part of that country, from the gulf of Genoa to that of Venice. Induced by these considerations, Julius admitted to his presence the Venetian ambassadours, who had before in vain solicited an audience, and having received their submission, he released the republick

Julius II. deserts the allies and unites his arms with the Venetians. 1510.

[1] His talents have also been celebrated, and his services recorded, in a few Latin verses of Ant. Franc. Rainerius.

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republick from his spiritual censures, with assurances of his future favour and support.[m] As this event could not long be concealed from the knowledge of the French monarch, Julius lost no time in adopting the most effectual measures to secure himself against his resentment. By the offer of a large sum of money he attempted to detach Maximilian from his alliance with France.[n] He endeavoured to excite against Louis XII. an insurrection in the city of Genoa, where he had considerable influence. By the most earnest representations he tried to prevail upon Henry VIII. of England to make a descent on the French coast.[o] He was more successful with Ferdinand of Spain, who, having also now obtained

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[m] In performing this ceremony, the pope, being seated in his pontifical robes on the steps of S. Peters, strikes with a rod the naked shoulders of the ambassadours, in the same manner as a prelate absolves his penitent monks. It was thus that Sixtus IV. released the city of Florence from his interdict; but on this occasion, Julius II. dispensed with this humiliating ceremony, and in lieu of it, ordered the envoys to visit the seven churches.

v. Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. *p.* 127.

[n] The brief of Julius II. to the cardinal of Gurk on this subject, is given by Lünig.

Cod. Ital. Diplomat. ii. 2002.

[o] At the same time the pope sent Henry the consecrated rose, dipped in chrism, and perfumed with musk. *Rapin, Hist. of England, book* xv. *vol.* i. *p.* 708.

obtained his object, was easily persuaded to join in expelling the French from Italy; but what was of still greater importance, he engaged in his service fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, for the purpose of making an irruption into the Milanese dominions of the French king. [p] The unexpected assistance of such an active and determined ally gave fresh courage to the Venetians. They increased the numbers of their army, the general command of which they intrusted to Lucio Malvezzo, and that of their infantry to Lorenzo, or Renzo, da Ceri. They engaged a body of five hundred Turkish horse, under the command of Giovanni Epirota, and they set at liberty the marquis of Mantua upon such liberal terms, as induced him in future to favour their interests. [q]

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Excommunicates the duke of Ferrara.

These events may be considered as the entire dissolution of the league of Cambray, and shortly occasioned a new aspect of publick affairs. Julius, having now secured the aid of the Swiss, and having in his service two powerful armies, one of which was commanded by Marc-Antonio Colonna, [r] a young

[p] The treaty of Julius II. with the Swiss is also preserved by Lünig.

Cod. Ital. Diplomat. v. ii. *p.* 2499.

[q] *Muratori Annali d' Italia*, x. 57, 60.

[r] Marc-Antonio was the son of Pier-Antonio, and nephew

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young soldier of high worth and splendid talents, to whom he had given his niece in marriage, the other by his nephew, the duke of Urbino, dismissed from his presence the French ambassadours and those of the duke of Ferrara. He also admonished the duke to desist from further hostilities against the republick of Venice, and in particular to relinquish the siege of Lignano, which he was then carrying on with great activity.[s] As the duke did not appear inclined to relax in his efforts, Julius instantly deprived him of his title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, which he conferred with great

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phew of Prospero Colonna. His early accomplishments are thus adverted to by Tebaldeo,

"Hermes dum loqueris, dum rides, Marce, Cupido es,
"Mars es ubi arma capis; tresque refers superos."
Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. ix. 241.

[s] Julius also complained that the duke had entered into an agreement for supplying Lombardy with salt from his mines at Comacchio, to the exclusion of those of the church at Cervia, and required him to relinquish his contract. He also insisted on the duke liberating his brother, Don Ferdinand of Este, whom he yet detained in prison. *v. ante, chap.* vii. *p.* 44. These demands were, however, considered at the time, as only pretexts for an attack on the states of Ferrara, which Julius had resolved to unite with those of the church. *v. Lettere di Leonardo da Porto. in Lettere di Principi, vol.* i. *p.* 7.

great solemnity on the marquis of Mantua,[t] and soon afterwards excommunicated the duke and all his family, declaring him deprived of his dominions, and pointing him out to the vengeance of all christendom, as a rebel to the holy see. At the same time the duke of Urbino entered the territory of Ferrara, where, with the assistance of the Venetians, he captured many important places, and among others, the city of Modena; carrying the war almost to the walls of Ferrara itself.[u] The indefatigable activity of Alfonso, with the aid of the French troops from Milan, preserved him, however, from the destruction with which he was threatened, and in the variable events of the year, he obtained in his turn, considerable advantages against the Venetian and Papal troops.

Is besieged in Bologna.

For the purpose of conducting the war with greater vigour, Julius II. had proceeded from Rome to Bologna, accompanied by most of the cardinals, and attendants of his court.[v] At the same period Sciomonte,

[t] The grant of this office is given in the collection of Du Mont. *tom.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 131.

[u] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia,* x. 59, 60.

[v] It was on this occasion that Julius was said to have thrown into the Tyber the keys of St. Peter, as appears from the following epigram. *Pasquill. vol.* i. *p.* 82.

"Cum

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Sciomonte, governour of Milan, instigated by the representations of the Bentivoli, directed his arms against that place; where Julius, indisposed by sickness, and wholly unprepared for defence, had nearly fallen into the hands of his enemies. He had, however, the policy to open a treaty with the French general, whose exorbitant demands afforded him a pretext for delay. The ambassadour, on whose talents he relied in this emergency, was Giovan-Francesco Pico, count of Mirandula, the nephew of the celebrated Giovanni Pico, and himself one of the most learned men of the age. It soon, however, appeared, that the only object of the pontiff was to gain time, till his allies, whom he had informed of the dangers of his situation, could arrive to his relief. A large body of Spanish and Venetian troops made their appearance most opportunely for his holiness, and Sciomonte, regretting the opportunity which he had lost, and suffering from the want of supplies, withdrew himself into

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" Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius esset
" Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet;
" Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & urbem
" Egressus, sævas edidit ore minas.
" Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit
" Tybridis, hic Urbi pons ubi jungit aquas.
" Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,
" Exclamansque truci talia voce refert;
" Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,
" Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri."

into the Milanese.[w] During the residence of the pope at Bologna he had entertained suspicions of Giuliano, the brother of the cardinal de' Medici, whom he confined in the palace, under an idea that he had conspired with his ancient friends, the Bentivoli, to effect their return; a few days, however, convinced the pope that his distrust was unfounded, and Giuliano was again restored to liberty.[x]

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The vehemence of Julius II. in subjecting all his enemies indiscriminately to the penalties of ecclesiastical censures, at length gave rise to a more alarming opposition than any which he had heretofore experienced. In devoting Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, to the pains of excommunication, he had expressly included in the same censure, all those who supported his cause. The emperour elect, Maximilian, and Louis XII. were therefore virtually under the anathema of the church. Considered merely in a spiritual point of view, this was by no means an object of indifference, at a time when the efficacy of the keys of St. Peter had never yet been questioned; but however insensible these monarchs had been to their spiritual welfare, the censures of the pope, in releasing their subjects

Louis XII. opposes the authority of the pope.

[w] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, x. 62. *Guicciard. Histor. d'Ital. lib.* ix. i. 500.

[x] *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib.* viii. *vol.* i. *p.* 464.

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subjects from their obedience, had laid the foundations of rebellion and tumult in every part of their dominions. Louis XII. endeavoured to remonstrate with Julius on this unjustifiable use of his pontifical power; but the pope, instead of attending to his representations, shut up his minister, the cardinal of Auch, in the castle of S. Angelo.[y] Alarmed and exasperated to a high degree, Louis called together the French prelates, and requested their united opinion whether he was justifiable in defending against the papal arms, a prince of the empire, whom the pope had endeavoured to devest of a state, which had been held under the imperial sanction for more than a century.[z] The reply of the clergy was, as might be expected, favourable to the views of the king, and in removing his scruples, emboldened him to a more decided opposition. As a mark of his determined hostility against the pope, he caused a medal to be struck with his own portrait, bearing the title and arms of king of France and Naples, and

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[y] *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib.* ix. 1. 484

[z] The author of the history of the league of Cambray supposes, that this was *Bologna*, which had been long held by the Bentivoli: but Muratori has decisively shown that the place alluded to was *Comacchio*, which was a feud of the empire, and had been held under the imperial investiture by the dukes of Ferrara, upwards of one hundred and fifty years. *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, x. 63.

and the motto, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN.[a] He opened a treaty with Maximilian for the convocation of a general council of the church at Lyons, and five cardinals had already expressed their willingness to attend the assembly. Maximilian not only listened with eagerness to the proposal, but, it has been said, formed also the design of procuring himself to be elected to the papacy, and although this has been considered as an empty and unfounded report,[b] yet it accords too well with the vain and fluctuating disposition of Maximilian, and is too well supported by historical evidence, to admit the supposition of its being wholly destitute of foundation.[c] Whether this gave rise to difficulties which were not easily obviated, or whether other causes prevented the assembly of the proposed council of Lyons, that measure did not take place; but it was not long before a similar proceeding was resorted to, which for some years divided the authority, and disturbed the repose of the christian world.

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Ferrara,

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[a] *Thuani Histor. lib.* i. *tom.* i. *p.* 16. *Ed. Buckley.*

[b] *Muratori Annali d'Italia, vol.* x. *p.* 64.

[c] "Ce desir de Maximilien pour la papauté, ne paroissoit pas fort certain; mais M. Bayle, (*Reponse aux questions d'un Provincial, tom.* ii.) l'a prouvé de nouveau, par une lettre tres curieuse, écrite du tems même de cet empereur, et à laquelle il paroit que ce sçavant soit le premier que nous ait fait faire attention." *Fresnoy, Methode pour etudier l'Hist. tom.* i. *p.* 119.

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Mirandula captured by Julius II. in person.

The great object to which the pope now turned his exertions, was the destruction of the duke of Ferrara, and the reunion of his territories with the states of the church; but before he could attack the dominions of Alfonso with a full prospect of success, he judged it necessary to possess himself of the principalities of Mirandula and Concordia, then held by Francesca, the widow of Lodovico Pico, and daughter of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In the month of December, 1510, Concordia submitted to his arms; but Francesca refused to surrender her capital, and avowed her intention of defending it to the last extremity. For a considerable time, the united force of the Venetian and papal troops was ineffectually employed to reduce the place; when at length the pope, exasperated beyond measure at the delay, and distrusting even his own generals, among whom his nephew the duke of Urbino held the chief command, determined to join the army in person, and forward by his exhortations and example the operations of the assailants. In the midst of the severest winter that had been known in Italy for many years, the hoary pontiff marched at the head of his troops, amidst frost and storms, to the attack of Mirandula. He directed in person the planting of the artillery; he regulated the order of the attack; he exposed himself fearlessly to the fire of the enemy, till at length he effected a breach in the walls, and reduced the besieged to the necessity of a capitulation. In compliance with the terms agreed on, the inhabi-

tants

tants hastened to open their gates; but such was the impetuosity of the pontiff, that without waiting for a formal surrender, he mounted a scaling ladder, and entered the city, sword in hand, through the breach in the walls. [d] Having there received the submission of Francesca, he delivered up the place to his adherent Giovan-Francesco Pico, who justly claimed the supreme authority as his right of inheritance, [e] After remaining about ten days at Mirandula to recover from his military fatigues, Julius proceeded to Ravenna, with a determination to attack the city of Ferrara; but the vigilance of the duke was equal to the violence of his enemies, and in several engagements, this experienced soldier and magnanimous prince, defeated the

1510. Æt. 35. 1511.

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[d] 21 *Jan.* 1511. *Muratori Annal. d' Italia*, x. 65.

[e] On this occasion M. A. Casanova addressed to the pontiff the following lines:

In Julium II. Pont. Max.

" Vix bellum indictum est, cum vincis, nec citius vis
" Vincere, quam parcas; hæc tria agis pariter.
" Una dedit bellum, bellum lux sustulit una;
" Nec tibi, quam bellum, longior ira fuit.
" Hoc nomen divinum aliquid fert secum; & utrum sis
" Mitior, anne idem fortior, ambigum est."

Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. iii. 284.

Many interesting particulars respecting the capture of Mirandula, and the conduct of Francesca, are given in the letter of Leonardo da Porto. *Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p.* 9.

CHAP. VIII. 1511. the united arms of the Venetians and the pope, with considerable loss.

Æt. 36. Some overtures being about this time made for the restoration of peace, the pope left Ravenna and repaired to Bologna, for the purpose of meeting the ambassadours of the different potentates; but Julius was not formed for a mediator, and the interview served only to kindle fresh animosities. No sooner was the unsuccessful event of the negotiation known, than the marshal Trivulzio, at the head of a formidable body of French troops, hastened towards Bologna. The pope, being apprized of his approach, and not choosing to confide in the courage, or the fidelity, of the inhabitants, suddenly quitted the place, and accompanied by his whole court, returned to Ravenna. He did not, however, fail to admonish his faithful subjects to retain their allegiance to him, and to defend themselves to the last extremity; and he intrusted the chief command to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia, who, on the departure of the pope, took the speediest measures for the defence of the place. The exhortations of the pontiff, were, however, soon forgotten. As the enemy approached, the inhabitants began to dread the lingering torments of a siege, or the sudden horrours of a direct attack. The exiled family of the Bentivoli had yet their partisans within the walls. It was to no purpose that the cardinal entreated the citizens to cooperate in the defence of the place with the duke

Bologna captured by the French.

duke of Urbino, who closely watched the motions of the French army, or that he requested them to admit a body of one thousand papal troops within the walls. The revolt became apparent, and the cardinal, with some difficulty, effected his escape to Imola; whilst Annibale, and Hermes Bentivoli, who had followed the French army, were received into the city with joy, and reassumed the government of their native place. One of the first outrages of popular fury, was the destruction of the beautiful statue of Julius II. cast in brass by Michel Agnolo, which after having been indignantly dragged about the city, was broken in pieces, and sent by the French commander to the duke of Ferrara, who formed it into a cannon, to which he gave the name of *Julio*. The head alone was preserved, and continued for some time to ornament the ducal musuem at Ferrara. [f]

The loss of the city of Bologna, which was soon followed by the defeat and dispersion of the papal

[f] This statue, which was raised at the expense of five thousand gold ducats *(Murat. Ann.* x. 67.*)* gave rise to the following satirical lines of Piero Valeriano:

" Quo quo tam trepidus fugis Viator;
" Ac si te Furiæve, Gorgonesve,
" Aut acer Basiliscus insequantur?
" —Non hic JULIUS—at figura JULII est."
Valer. Hexam. &c. p. 104. *Ed. Giol.* 1550.

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papal troops in its vicinity, led the way to another incident which occasioned the pope still greater distress. From Imola, the cardinal of Pavia had hastened to Ravenna, to excuse himself to the pope for having left the city of Bologna to be occupied by the arms of the French; in the course of which exculpation, it was supposed that he intended to charge the duke of Urbino with having, through inattention or negligence, contributed to this disaster. The pope, who entertained a favourable opinion of the cardinal, was well disposed to listen to his representations, and appointed a time when he should visit him; but as the cardinal was proceeding on horseback with his attendants to the proposed interview, he was met in the street by the duke of Urbino, who passed through the midst of the guards, and whilst they ranged themselves on each side to show him respect, rode up to the cardinal, and stabbed him with a dagger, so that he fell instantly dead from his horse. [g] Such an atrocious and sacrilegious act of treason excited at once the grief and the indignation

The cardinal of Pavia assassinated by the duke of Urbino.

[g] The efforts of Julius II. to possess himself, either by force or fraud of the city of Ferrara, and the various incidents of this expedition, with the death of the cardinal of Pavia, are fully related by Leonardo da Porto, in the letter before cited, written from Venice, to Antonio Savorgnano; in which will be found many circumstances either differently related, or wholly omitted by the historians of the time. *v. Lettere di Principi, vol.* i. *p.* 9.

nation of the pontiff,[h] who, with severe denunciations against the perpetrator of this crime, instantly quitted Ravenna, and hastened to Rome; where he instituted a formal process against the duke, and deprived him of all his dignities. The resentment of the pope was not, however, of long continuance. At the expiration of five months he allowed himself to be prevailed upon, by the representations of his courtiers, to restore his nephew to his honours; and upon his visiting the city of Rome, and supplicating pardon for his offence, the pope absolved him from his homicide, in the presence of all the cardinals, and restored him again to his favour.

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Council of Pisa.

Whilst the grief of the pope for the loss of Bologna was thus increased by the death of the cardinal of Pavia, and he was hastening from Ravenna to Rome, to pursue measures against the murderer, he found, on passing through the city of Rimini, that notices were published of a general council of the church, which was to be held in the city of Pisa, on the first day of September, 1511, and at which he was cited to appear in person. This measure was the result of long deliberation between

[h] Paullus Jovius has, however, attacked the memory of the unfortunate cardinal, with a ferocity equal to that with which the duke of Urbino attacked his person; and not only justifies, but exults in his murder.

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between Louis XII. and the emperour elect, Maximilian, who having prevailed on several of the cardinals to unite in their views, at length succeeded in exciting against the pope this formidable opposition. At the head of this council was Bernardo Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, who was equally distinguished by his literary acquirements and political talents, and who held a high rank in the college. He was powerfully supported by the cardinal Sanseverino, who being of a Milanese family, and devoted to the cause of the French, was supposed to have prevailed upon the cardinal of Santa Croce to engage in this hazardous undertaking, by representing to him the high probability of his obtaining the pontifical dignity, on the abdication or expulsion of Julius II. Among the other cardinals who concurred in this measure were those of S. Malo, Bajosa, and Cosenza. The influence which Louis XII. had acquired over the republick of Florence had induced the magistrates, after great hesitation, to concede to him the city of Pisa as the place of assembly; but their assent was rather tacit than avowed, and with such secrecy were the preliminaries adjusted, that Julius was not informed of them until he found himself called upon to appear as a publick delinquent, and his authority openly opposed throughout the whole Christian world. Such a decided instance of disobedience to the supreme head of the church, would at any other time have moved the indignation of the pontiff, but as it occurred at a moment when

when his mind was already agitated with his misfortunes, it almost overwhelmed him, and a severe indisposition had nearly completed the wishes of his enemies. This council did not, however, open under the happiest auspices. The appearance of seven cardinals, and a few bishops, formed a very inadequate representation of the Christian church; and the clergy of the city of Pisa not only refused to take any part in the deliberations of the assembly, but even to allow them the implements for celebrating mass, and closed the doors of the cathedral against them.[i] Nor were the inhabitants of Pisa less dissatisfied, that the Florentines had subjected their city to the disgrace and danger which were likely to be the result of this measure; and in a contest which took place between them and the French troops, on the bridge of the Arno, the French commander, Lautrec, who had been appointed to protect the council, would in all probability have lost his life, had he not been preserved by the courage and promptitude of his son.[j] A sudden terrour struck the assembled ecclesiasticks, who began to suspect that they might be betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered up to the pontiff. They therefore quitted the city of Pisa within the space

[i] *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *p.* 559.

[j] *Jovii, vita Leonis* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 36.

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space of fifteen days from the time of their meeting,[k] and repaired to Milan; where, under the immediate protection of the French monarch, they constituted themselves a legal assembly, and began to issue their decrees.

The holy league.

No sooner was the health of the pope in some degree restored, than he took the most effectual steps to obviate the ill effects of this alarming opposition. He appointed a general council of the church to be held at Rome, in the course of the ensuing year, and he admonished the refractory cardinals to return to their duty within sixty-five days under pain of the deprivation of their dignities, and forfeiture of their ecclesiastical revenues. By the most earnest representations to Ferdinand of Aragon, and the grant to him of the tenths of the clergy throughout his dominions, he prevailed upon that monarch to unite with him and the Venetians in a treaty for the defence of the church.[l] For the purpose of giving greater credit to this alliance, it

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[k] *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *p.* 559.

[l] On this occasion, Massimo Corvino, bishop of Isernia, made an oration before Julius II. and the people of Rome, in the church of S. Maria, which he afterwards addressed to the cardinal de' Medici, as Legate of Bologna. The same event has also been celebrated in a copy of Latin verses.

it was denominated *the holy league*,[m] and was celebrated at Rome with great rejoicings. The king of Aragon agreed to furnish twelve hundred men at arms, and ten thousand foot, under the command of Don Raymond de Cardona, viceroy of Naples, with a train of artillery, and eleven gallies of war; the pope, six hundred men at arms, under the command of the duke of Termini; and the Venetians their whole forces by land and sea. The influence which Ferdinand possessed with his son-in-law, Henry VIII. of England, and the promise of the assistance of the allies in acquiring for that young and ambitious prince the province of Guienne, induced him to become a party in this alliance, and another treaty for this purpose was signed at London, by Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, on behalf of Henry VIII. on the seventeenth day of November, which was confirmed by Ferdinand at Burgos, on the twentieth day of December, 1511.[n] In addition to these formidable preparations,

[m] *Lünig Cod. Ital. Diplomat. vol.* ii. 798.

[n] This treaty is published in Rymer's Fœdera, *vol.* vi. *p.* 25. and in the collection of Du Mont. *vol.* iv. *part* i. *p.* 137.—This alliance was warmly opposed by some of the English council, who more seriously weighed the business, one of whom made a remark which, as lord Herbert justly observes, ENGLAND SHOULD NEVER FORGET. "Let us," said

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tions, Julius again took into his service a large body of Swiss, for the purpose of making a descent into the Milanese, whilst the pope and his allies were to engage the attention of the French in other parts of Italy, and Henry VIII. was to send an army into Guienne. On this occasion, the Swiss mercenaries carried the celebrated standard which had often been the terrour of their enemies, and on which was inscribed, in letters of gold, DOMATORES PRINCIPUM. AMATORES JUSTICIAE. DEFENSORES SANCTAE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE. An inscription, the tenour of which they were not, however, at all times, sufficiently careful to observe.

Julius II. determines to restore the Medici to Florence.

The conduct of the Florentine republick, in permitting the pretended council of the church to assemble in Pisa, had subjected the magistrates, and particularly the *gonfaloniere*, Pietro Soderini, to the resentment of the pontiff, who resolved to avail himself of the first opportunity of punishing, with due severity, so heinous an offence. The most effectual method which occurred to him for this purpose, as well as to secure the city in future to

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said he, "leave off our attempts against the Terra firma. "The natural situation of islands seems not to sort with con- "quests in that kind. England alone is a just empire; or "when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we "can, and to which it seems the eternal providence hath "destined us, and that is by SEA." *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p.* 18. *Ed. Lond.* 1740.

to his own interests, was to restore the family of Medici to their former authority in that place. During all the vexation and dangers which the pontiff had experienced, the cardinal de' Medici had adhered to him with constant fidelity, and had obtained his confidence in an eminent degree. In selecting, at this important crisis, a fit person to superintend the papal army, and to direct the operations of the war, the choice of the pontiff fell on the cardinal, who was invested with the supreme command, under the title of legate of Bologna.° At the same time, in order to stimulate the exertions of the cardinal, and to punish the Florentines for the part which they had taken, it was understood, that on the expulsion of the French from Bologna, and other parts of the dominions of the church, the cardinal should be allowed to make use of the forces under his command for the re-establishment of his authority in Florence. Already the friends and relations of the Medici within the city, had opposed themselves to the party of the *gonfaloniere* with great boldness. A conspiracy was formed against his life, which is attributed, but without any authentick evidence, to the machinations

° Soon after the appointment of the cardinal to this dignity, he was applied to by the poet Ariosto to exercise his dispensing power in granting him *triu incompatibilia*, or allowing him to enjoy certain ecclesiastical revenues, without entering for a limited time into sacred orders.

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nations of the pope, and the cardinal de' Medici. Principalle della Stufa, the principal agent in this transaction, was apprehended within the city, but such was the indifference of the people to the safety of their chief magistrate, or the reluctance of Soderini to exert his declining authority, that Principalle was suffered to escape with only a sentence of banishment pronounced against him.[p] Alarmed at these indications, Soderini endeavoured to prevail on the Florentines to espouse the cause of Louis XII. and to take a decided part in the approaching contest; but in this his efforts were frustrated by the more prudent councils of his fellow magistrates, who judged it highly inexpedient to risk their political existence on the event. A temporizing line of conduct was therefore resolved upon, as most suitable to the situation and resources of the republick; and the celebrated historian Guicciardini, was, on this occasion, despatched as ambassadour to the king of Spain, although he was then so young, as to be disqualified by the laws of the republick from exercising any office of publick trust. These measures, instead of satisfying any of the contending parties, gave offence to all, and the Florentine envoy seems sufficiently to have felt the difficulties of the task imposed upon him.[q]

Whilst

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[p] *Comment. di. Nerli. lib.* v. *p.* 104.

[q] *Guicciard. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *p.* 567.

CHAP. VIII. 1512. Æt. 37.

Bologna besieged by the allies, and relieved by de Foix.

Whilst the pope, the Venetians, and the king of Aragon, were thus combining their efforts, for the purpose of expelling the French from Italy, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, nephew to Louis XII. then only twenty-three years of age, had assumed the command of his countrymen, and given early proofs of his courage and military talents. He did not, however, wholly rely upon these qualifications for the success of his enterprises. Scarcely had the Swiss made their appearance in the states of Milan, than he found means to open a treaty with them, and by the timely application of a large sum of money to their commander, and other principal leaders, prevailed upon these adventurers, who carried on war only as a matter of trade, to return once more across the Alps.[r] After having thus secured the states of Milan, he proceeded to the relief of Bologna, the siege of which had been commenced by the allied army on the twenty-sixth day of January, 1512. The supreme direction of the papal troops was on this occasion intrusted to the cardinal de' Medici, as legate of Bologna, under whom Marc-Antonio Colonna acted as general of the church. The Spaniards were led by Don Raymond de Cardona, assisted by Fabrizio Colonna, and Pietro Navarro. The Bentivoli within the walls were also encompassed

[r] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia.* x. 72.

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passed by powerful adherents, and a party of French troops under the command of Lautrec and Ivo d'Allegri, were within the city. The allies had now made their approaches in due military form, and a considerable portion of the walls was at length destroyed by the continued fire of their artillery. Whilst this open attack continued, Pietro Navarro had, with great assiduity, formed an excavation under the city for a mine of gunpowder, which he at length completed. At the appointed moment, the match was applied to the combustibles, which were intended to have laid the city in ruins. It happened, however, most fortunately for the inhabitants, that these materials had been deposited under the chapel of the holy virgin, *del Barracane;* so that when the explosion took place, the chapel rose up into the air, but instantly returned, without injury, to its former station. As the chapel adjoined the walls, the besiegers had a temporary view of the interiour of the city, and of the soldiers engaged in its defence; but from this they derived little satisfation, as the wall immediately returned to its place, and united together, as if it had not been moved! Such is the grave account given of this incident by contemporary historians,[s] which has been as gravely assented to by writers of more modern times. After so decisive a proof of the inefficacy

[s] *Guicciard. lib.* x. *v.* i. *p.* 573. *Jovius in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 38.

efficacy of all further attempts, it can occasion no surprise, that the French general, De Foix, entered the city at the head of sixteen thousand men, without the besieging army having been aware of their approach. The allies had now no alternative but to raise the siege; after which they retreated in great haste for safety to Imola.

Discordant opinions of the cardinal de Medici and the Spanish general, Cardona.

But whatever doubts may remain respecting the manner in which the siege of Bologna was raised, there can be no difficulty in ascertaining the causes of it, when we are informed, that an open difference of opinion had subsisted between the Spanish general Cardona, and the cardinal legate de' Medici; the latter of whom, wearied with the slow proceedings of the allied generals, and well acquainted with the impatient temper of the pope, endeavoured to prevail on Cardona to persevere vigorously in the attack. He lamented that so much time had been suffered to elapse without any impression being made on the city, of which they might then have been in possession; he entreated the Spanish general not to persist in so fatal an errour; he represented to him the danger and disgrace of appearing in a hostile manner at the gates of a city, without having the courage to commence an attack; and assured him that he knew not what reply to make to the couriers of the pope, who arrived daily from Rome, and whom he could no longer amuse with vain expectations and empty promises. Displeased with the importunity of the legate,

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legate, the Spanish general complained, in his turn, that the legate, who from the nature of his education, had no experience in military affairs, should, by his intemperate solicitations, prepare the way for rash and inconsiderate measures. That the interests of all Christendom were concerned in the event of this contest, and that too much caution could not be employed on such an occasion. That it was the custom of the pontifical see, and of republican states, to engage precipitately in war, but that they were soon wearied with the expense and trouble attending it, and sought to terminate it on any terms; that the legate ought in this instance to submit his opinion to that of the military commanders, who had the same objects as himself in view, with much greater experience in such concerns.[t] The result, however, demonstrated, that on this occasion the churchman was the better general; nor does it seem to have required much penetration to have discovered, that in the situation in which the allies were placed, the capture of Bologna, before the French army could arrive to its relief, was the great object towards which the assailants ought to have directed all their efforts. It was not therefore without reason, that the cardinal suspected that the inactivity of the Spanish general was to be attributed to the orders of his sovereign, who,

[t] *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *p.* 571.

who, whilst he professed to be desirous of adopting decisive measures, in concert with his allies, always directed the operations of his generals in such a manner as he thought most conducive to his own private interests. [u]

Brescia stormed and sacked by the French.

The disappointment and disgrace which the allies had experienced before Bologna, was however, in some degree counterbalanced by the successes of the Venetians, who, about the same time, recovered the important cities of Brescia and Bergamo, whence they proceeded to the attack of Crema; but the timely arrival of Trivulzio preserved that place to the French. On receiving information of these transactions, Gaston de Foix resolved to lose no time in repairing the losses of the French arms. Leaving therefore a body of four thousand foot, with a reenforcement of cavalry and archers, for the defence of Bologna, he proceeded by rapid marches towards Brescia, and having in his route defeated two bodies of the allied troops, one of them under the command of Gian-Paolo Baglione, and the other of the count Guido Rangone, he arrived in the vicinity of that city, having, as we are assured, on the last day of his march

[u] *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *fi.* 571.

CHAP. VIII. march led his cavalry, fifty Italian miles without once drawing the reins.

1512.

Æt. 37. On the arrival of the French general before Brescia, he found, that although the Venetians had possessed themselves of the town, they had not been able to reduce the citadel, which was yet held by the French. His first object was therefore to reenforce the garrison, which he effected, under cover of the night, by introducing three thousand foot, and four hundred dismounted cavalry. The defence of the place was intrusted by the Venetians to their commissary Andrea Gritti, upon whom was imposed the double task of attending at the same time to the attack of the citadel, and the safety of the town. He was, however, supported by a formidable body of troops. The inhabitants of the vicinity were favourable to his cause. Great numbers of them had joined his arms, and the citizens, disgusted with the severity and disorder of the French government, had avowed their determination to sacrifice their lives in the struggle, rather than be compelled to return under its dominion. The summons of the French general, who promised the inhabitants the pardon of the king on their again submitting to his arms, and threatened to sack the city in case of their refusal, produced no other answer, than that they were ready to defend themselves to the last extremity. The day preceding the expected attack, the women and children were conducted to the monasteries, and all

all money and articles of value were concealed with as much privacy as possible. In the morning of the nineteenth day of February, 1512, the French garrison made an irruption from the citadel in great force, whilst de Foix led on his army to attack the ramparts. A bloody engagement ensued between the garrison and the Venetian soldiery, in the great square of the city, in which two thousand of the latter perished. Despairing of all further resistance, the count Luigi Avogrado, one of the Venetian commanders, at the head of two hundred horse, rushed through the gate of S. Nazaro, in the hopes of effecting his escape, and of this opportunity de Foix availed himself to complete the rout of the Venetians, and the ruin of the inhabitants. The whole French army entered the city sword in hand, and a most dreadful and indiscriminate carnage ensued, in which upwards of eight thousand persons fell a sacrifice to that vindictive rage, which has in all ages disgracefully characterized mankind on similar occasions, and which marks a ferocity far beyond the puny limits of the brute creation.[v]

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[v] The celebrated Bayard, *le Chevalier sans peur & sans reproche*, who had accompanied the armies of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. into Italy, was present at the capture of Brescia, and gave a proof of that magnanimity which always distinguished his character, in refusing to receive from the daughters of his hostess, a sum of two thousand pistoles, which their mother had collected to save her house from plunder. *Moreri Art. Bayard.*

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The Venetian commissary, Andrea Gritti, with the chief commanders within the city, were made prisoners. Luigi Avogrado being taken in his flight, was put to death as a traitor, by the orders of de Foix, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity.[w] Enormous sums were exacted from the citizens as their ransom. For seven days the place was delivered up to the violence and rapine of the soldiery.[x] Even the monasteries were forced and plundered;[y] but amidst this scene of horrour and of bloodshed, the authority of de Foix is said to have been exerted in preserving the honour of the women who had resorted thither for shelter. Many of the French soldiers were executed by his orders for violating the sanctuary of the convents, and he at length gave peremptory orders that the army should quit the city, and return to their encampments.

De Foix attacks Ravenna.

The vigour and rapidity of this young conqueror, who had in the space of fifteen days raised the siege of Bologna, defeated several detachments of the allies, and captured the city of Brescia, alarmed his enemies, and astonished all Italy. The city

[w] *Jovii, vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 41.

[x] *Jovii, vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 41.

[y] On this event, Bartolommeo Teaneo wrote a Latin poem in heroick verse, which was printed at Brescia, in the year 1561. *v. Spec. Literat. Brixianæ. par.* ii. *p.* 219.

city and district of Bergamo, without waiting for the approach of the French, again raised the standard of Louis XII. and there was reason to believe, that the whole continental possessions of the Venetian republick would follow the example. Whatever might be the sensations of the senate, Julius II. displayed, however, no symptoms of dismay. On the contrary, his undaunted spirit seemed to rise with the occasion, and no measures were omitted by him which might encourage his allies, and give effect to the great design which he yet entertained of expelling the French from Italy. By the bribe of fifty thousand florins, he prevailed upon the emperour elect, Maximilian, to conclude with the Venetians a treaty for ten months.[z] He incited Henry VIII. of England to prepare a powerful naval armament, for the purpose of attacking the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne, and he induced Ferdinand of Aragon to commence hostilities in France, by sending an army across the Pyrenees. Assailed on all sides by powerful adversaries, Louis XII. perceived that he must rely for his security on the prompt and successful efforts of his Italian troops. He therefore directed Gaston de Foix to use all his diligence to bring the allies to a definitive engagement. To such a commander little incitement was necessary; and Gaston immediately hastened

[z] *v. Lünig Cod. Ital. Diplomat. vol.* ii. *p.* 2003.

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hastened to Ferrara, to determine with the duke on the measures necessary to be adopted. He had at this time under his command eighteen hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and sixteen thousand infantry; and being joined by the duke of Ferrara with an additional body of troops, and an extensive train of artillery, he proceeded towards Romagna. The cardinal legate de' Medici, and the viceroy, Cardona, who were at the head of fifteen hundred men at arms, three thousand light horse, and eighteen thousand foot, retired towards the mountain of Faenza, choosing rather to harass the army of the French, and to cut off their supplies, than to risk the fate of Italy on the event of a single battle. The French general was determined, however, not to remain inactive, and directing his course towards Ravenna, he stormed in his progress the fortress of Russi, where he put to the sword about a thousand persons. Arriving under the walls of Ravenna, he instantly commenced the attack. The artillery of the duke of Ferrara, which was on all occasions irresistible, soon effected a breach in the walls, and the French rushed on to the assault. It appeared, however, that on this occasion, the vigilance of the allies had been equal to that of the French commander. Marc-Antonio Colonna, with a powerful body of troops, had entered the city to assist in its defence. An obstinate engagement took place on the ramparts, which continued for four hours, and in which about fifteen hundred soldiers were killed; but notwithstanding the

the utmost efforts of the assailants, they were at length obliged to relinquish the attempt. [a]

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But although the French general had failed for the present in his attack upon Ravenna, in another respect he accomplished the purpose which he had in view, by compelling the commanders of the allied army to abandon their system of procrastination, and to hasten towards that city for its more effectual relief. Whilst Gaston de Foix was rallying his soldiers to a second attack, he received intelligence of the approach of the enemy, and before he was prepared to oppose them in the field, he found that they had raised intrenchments within three miles of Ravenna. In this conjuncture, his situation was critical. To persist in the siege of the city was impossible, whilst an army, equal in number to his own, lay ready to seize the first opportunity of a favourable attack. To assail the allies in their intrenchments, and force them to an engagement, whilst their enemies might harass them from the fortress of Ravenna, seemed almost equally inexpedient. The sufferings of the soldiers and horses, from the want of accommodation and provisions, would not, however, brook delay, and Gaston resolved, at all events, to storm the enemy in their intrenchments, and force them to an open conflict.

Battle before the walls of Ravenna.

[a] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia.* x. 80.

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conflict. The order of this dreadful battle, which took place on the eleventh day of April, 1512, and in which the flower of both armies was destined to perish, is described at great length, both by the French and Italian historians.[b] Among the French commanders, the most conspicuous was the cardinal Sanseverino, legate of the council of Milan, who, clad in complete armour, marched at the head of the troops, and being of a tall and imposing figure, appeared like another St. George. The cardinal de' Medici, as legate of the church, held the chief authority in the allied army; but although in the midst of a camp, his habiliments were those of peace,[c] and he differed no less from his brother cardinal in his mild and humane disposition, than in the pacifick demonstrations of his external appearance. For the more active part of warlike operations, the cardinal de' Medici was, indeed, in a great degree disqualified, by the imperfection of his sight, but in maintaining the good order of the camp, he was indefatigable, and he frequently and strenuously exhorted both the commanders and the soldiery, to contend with courage and unanimity for the protection of themselves

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[b] *Jovius, vita Ferdinandi Davalos, March. Pescaræ, lib.* i. *Guicciard. lib.* x. *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv.* iii. *&c.*

[c] *Guicciard. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *p.* 588.

selves and their possessions, the preservation of the holy see, and for the common liberties of Italy.[d] The Spanish troops, on which the principal reliance was placed, were led by the viceroy Cardona; the Italians by Fabrizio Colonna; and the command of the light armed cavalry was intrusted to the young and accomplished Ferdinando Davalos, marquis of Pescara, who had lately married Vittoria, the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, one of the fairest patterns of female excellence, and conjugal affection, that the world has hitherto seen.

The allies defeated by de Foix, and the cardinal legate de' Medici made prisoner.

The reputation which Pietro Navarro had acquired by his superiour skill as an engineer, had not only raised him to a high command in the allied army, but had given great authority to his opinion. On this occasion he earnestly recommended that the army should remain in its intrenchments, and should trust for success, in the first instance, to its artillery, which he had advantageously arranged in the front of their works. In this opinion he was opposed by Fabrizio Colonna, who contended, that as the French army were under the necessity of crossing

[d] "Tribunos, Centuriones, ac milites ipsos, ut pro servando Sedis Apostolicæ patrimonio, pro aris ac focis, pro communi Italiæ libertate, pro salute, pro dignitate, strenuissimè decertarent, graviter, copioseque est adhortatus." *Brandolini, Leo, p.* 85.

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crossing the river Ronco, to proceed to the attack, it would be more advisable to oppose them as they approached in detached bodies, than to wait till the whole army had formed itself in order to assault the intrenchments. The advice of the Spaniard prevailed, and the French army arrived unmolested within a short distance of the allied camp. Perceiving, however, that the allies did not choose to quit their intrenchments, they formed their line, with the artillery in front, and for the space of two hours the adverse armies employed themselves in cannonading each other; in the course of which a great slaughter was made, without any decisive effect being produced. In this contest the allies had, from their situation, a manifest advantage; but the duke of Ferrara, perceiving the fortune of the day inclining against the French, hastened with his artillery to their relief, and having obtained an advantageous position, which commanded the intrenchments, attacked the allies in flank with such impetuosity, that they could no longer resist his fury.[e]

The

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[e] Ariosto attributes the success of the French on this occasion to the courage and conduct of the duke of Ferrara:

"Costui sarà col senno, e con la lancia,
"Ch' avrà l' onor ne i campi di Romagna,
"D' aver data a l'essercito di Francia
"La gran vittoria contro Giulio, e Spagna.
"Nuoteranno i destrier fin' a la pancia
"Nel sangue uman per tutta la campagna;

"Ch'

The mingled slaughter of men and of horses who fell, without an opportunity of resistance, roused the resentment of Fabrizio Colonna, who with bitter reproaches against the Spanish generals, at length rushed from his intrenchments, and was followed by the rest of the allies. The hostile shock of these armies, each of them inflamed by national enmity, and exasperated to the highest degree by the preceding events of the war, was bloody and destructive beyond all that had been known in Italy for many years. The whole body was in immediate action. The courage of the Spanish infantry changed more than once the fortune of the day. In the declining state of the allied army, the marquis of Pescara made an impetuous attack on the wing of the enemy, with the whole of the light cavalry, but was repulsed with great loss, and after a severe conflict, the allies were compelled to give way, and to seek their safety by flight. All their artillery, standards, and equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy, and upwards of nine thousand of the allies lay dead on the field. The cardinal legate de' Medici, Fabrizio Colonna, Pietro Navarro, and many other eminent commanders, and men of high rank, were made prisoners. The viceroy Cardona effected his escape to Cesena, where he endeavoured

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" Ch' a sepelire il popol verrà manco
" Tedesco, Ispano, Greco, Italo, e Franco.'
Orland. Fur. Cant. iii. *st.* 55

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ed to collect together the scattered remains of his troops. But if the Italians and Spaniards had just reason for lamentation, the French had no cause of rejoicing. The number of their slain is authentically stated to have exceeded that of the allies, and to have amounted to no less than ten thousand five hundred men.[f] Among this number were the celebrated Ivo d'Allegri, who had for several years fought the battles of his sovereign in Italy, and two of his sons. The sieur de Lautrec, uncle to de Foix, and second in command, was found on the field of battle covered with wounds; from which he, however, recovered. But the greatest disaster of the French army, was the death of the general in chief, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, who, burning with an insatiable thirst of slaughter, engaged at the head of one thousand horse, in the pursuit of three thousand Spanish infantry, and in the midst of his career received a shot from a harquebus, which instantly terminated his days. The untimely fate of this young hero damped the ardour of his countrymen in the moment of victory, and his memory has seldom been adverted to, even by the Italians themselves, without the highest admiration and applause.[g] The benignant philosopher, in the recesses

Death of de Foix.

[f] *Muratori Annali d' Ital.* x. *p.* 82.

[g] His body was brought to Milan, and deposited with pompous ceremonies in the cathedral; but on the subsequent expulsion of the French from Milan, the cardinal of Sion

cesses of his closet, may perhaps lament, that such extraordinary talents were exerted, not for the benefit, but the destruction of mankind; and the generous soldier may regret, that on some occasions, this great man sullied the glory of his arms, by unnecessary acts of vindictive barbarity; but it would be invidious in a modern historian, to attempt to tear the

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Sion ordered it to be disinterred, as the remains of a person excommunicated, and sent it to be privately buried in the church of the monastery of S. Martha. On the recovery of Milan by the French, in the year 1515, a magnificent tomb was erected to the memory of this young warriour, by Agostino Busti, a Milanese sculptor, consisting of a figure of de Foix, as large as life, and ten pieces of sculpture in marble most exquisitely finished, representing the various battles in which he had been engaged. This monument remained till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was suffered to be demolished, and the ornaments were carried away. *v. Vasari. Giunte. vol.* i. *p.* 51. ii. 180. iii. 31. *Ligue de Camb.* ii. 149. The death of de Foix is commemorated in the following lines of Antonio Franc. Raineri:

De Gastone Foxio.

" Funera quis memoranda canat, clademque Ravennæ,
" Et tua, summe Ducum, facta, obitumque simul?
" Ingentes cum tu incedens per corporum acervos,
" Jam victor strage, heu, concidis in mediâ.
" Gallica, sensêre Hesperii quam vivida virtus,
" Sensere, ultrici cum cecidere manu.
" Sic obitu, Juvenis, Decios imitaris; et armis
" Sic geminos, belli fulmina, Scipiados."

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. vol. viii. *p.* 60.

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Surrender and plunder of Ravenna.

The victorious army now returned to the attack of Ravenna. Marc-Antonio Colonna, despairing of the defence of the place, withdrew his troops into the citadel, where he defended himself for four days, at the expiration of which time, he quitted the city, under a capitulation, by which it was agreed, that he and his followers should not, for the space of three months, carry arms against the king of France or the council of Pisa.[h] A deputation from the inhabitants had also endeavoured to arrange with the French commander the terms of surrender; but a party of Gascons having led the way, through the breach of the walls, into the city, a general and indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants took place, without regard either to age, or sex. Even the monasteries on this occasion afforded no shelter to the unhappy victims of brutal ferocity; until the Sieur de la Palisse, on whom the chief command of the French army had devolved, being informed of these disgraceful enormities, hastened into the city, with the laudable resolution of repressing them to the utmost of his power. He first directed his steps towards a convent, into which thirty-four of his soldiers had intruded themselves by violence, and ordering his attendants to seize upon them, he had

[h] *Ligue de Camb. liv.* iii. *tom.* ii. *fl.* 154.

had them instantly hung through the windows.[i] This decisive measure was followed by a proclamation, threatening the same fate to all who should not instantly relinquish their depredations and return to their duty; and having thus restrained his soldiery, he led them again to their encampments. The cities of Imola, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, and several other places, alarmed at these disastrous events, sent deputies to testify their obedience to the king of France, and almost the whole extent of Romagna was once more occupied by his arms.

The cardinal despatches Giulio de' Medici to Rome with intelligence of the defeat.

In this bloody contest, in which so many of his friends and adherents had fallen, the cardinal de' Medici gave eminent proofs of constancy and firmness of mind. Although unarmed and defenceless in the midst of the battle, he still continued to encourage his troops, and displayed an example of that patient fortitude, which is perhaps more difficult than a fiercer spirit of active hostility. Even when the fate of the day was decided, he did not immediately attempt to quit the field, but devoted himself to the care of the dying, and to the administration of that spiritual comfort, which consoled the last moments of life, by the animating hopes of immortality.[j] Whilst engaged in the performance of

[i] *Muratori*, *Annali d' Italia*, x. 83.

[j] "Legatus Apostolicus in clade Ravennate non arripuit "fugam, sed morientes sacro *juvit* officio; maluitque ab "hostibus

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of these duties, he was seized upon by two horsemen, who, regardless of his high dignity, were proceeding to treat him with insult; but from their hands he was rescued by the courage and promptitude of the cavalier Piatese, of Bologna, who having killed one of the assailants, wounded the other and dragged him from his horse. A body of Greek cavalry in the French service soon afterwards made their appearance, and rendered all further resistance, on the part of the cardinal, fruitless. By them he was delivered over to Federigo Gonzaga, of Bozzolo, to whom, as to an officer of high rank and honour, he willingly surrendered himself.[k] Being transferred by Gonzaga to the custody of the cardinal Sanseverino, he was received by that warlike prelate with all the kindness and attention, which the equality of their rank, and their former intimacy, gave him a right to expect. By his indulgence the cardinal de' Medici obtained permission for his cousin, Giulio, knight of Rhodes, who had fled with the viceroy Cardona, to pay him a visit, under the sanction of a safe conduct. On his arrival at the French camp, the cardinal de' Medici lost no time in despatching him to the pope, under the pretext

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" hostibus capi, quam Apostolici viri munus non obesse."
Luc. Eremita in Hist. Romualdina. apſ. Raphſ. Brand. Leo. ſt. 85.

[k] *Jovii in vita Leon. lib.* ii. *ſt.* 46. *Ammirato Ritratto di Leone*, x. *ſt.* 69.

text of recommending himself and his interests, during his imprisonment, to his holiness and the consistory; but in fact to give them the fullest representation of the state of both armies, and of the situation of the different parties, in consequence of the important events, which had of late taken place. CHAP. VIII. 1512. Æt. 37.

The intelligence of the battle of Ravenna had been conveyed to Rome within two days after it had occurred, by the vigilance of Ottaviano Fregoso,[l] and the consternation which it occasioned had nearly induced the pope to quit the city; for which purpose he had already ordered the commander of his gallies to make preparations.[m] Amidst the clamours of the cardinals, who earnestly entreated him to listen to terms of peace, and the instigations of the Venetian and Spanish ambassadours, who with equal warmth exhorted him to persevere in hostilities, Giulio de' Medici arrived, and by the full information which he brought, relieved in a great degree the apprehensions Fatal effects of the battle of Ravenna to the French.

[l] Fregoso is introduced as one of the interlocutors in the celebrated *Libro del Cortigiano*, of Castiglione, where he is denominated "Uomo a i nostri tempi rarissimo, magnanimo, "religioso, pien di bontà d' ingegno, prudenza, e cortesia, e "veramente amico d' onore e di virtù, e tanto degno di "laude, che li medesimi inimici suoi furono sempre cos- "tretti a laudarlo." *In Præf. fi.* 9.

[m] *Guicciard. lib.* x. i. 594.

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sions of the pontiff. He was immediately introduced into a full consistory, where he represented to the assembled ecclesiasticks the debilitated state of the French army; the number of able commanders of whom it had been deprived, and of soldiers who were disabled by their wounds from immediate service. He informed them that the sacking of Ravenna had contributed to relax the discipline of the French army; the commanders of which appeared to be undetermined what course they should take, and waited for directions from the king; that jealousies had arisen between la Palisse and the cardinal Sanseverino, who wished to unite in himself the offices of both legate and general; that rumours were frequent in the French camp of the approach of the Swiss, and that under all these circumstances, no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the further progress of the French. These representations were well founded. The battle of Ravenna was, in every point of view, more fatal to the French than to the allies. The resistance which they had met with, had diminished that confidence in their superiour courage, which had on many occasions contributed to their victories. Their favourite leaders had fallen, and the prime of their soldiery, the vigour and nerve of their army, was destroyed. From this fatal day, the affairs of the French king began rapidly to decline, and the victory of Ravenna prepared the way for the total expulsion of his arms from Italy.

From

From the vicinity of Ravenna the cardinal de' Medici was conveyed to Bologna, where he was received by the Bentivoli, the ancient friends of his family, with such kindness, as left him nothing to regret but the loss of his liberty. He was soon afterwards transferred, in company with many other noble prisoners, from Bologna to Milan; whence they were to be sent, by the orders of Louis XII. into France. On passing through the city of Modena, he experienced the friendship and liberality of Bianca Rangone, one of the daughters of Giovanni Bentivolio, who deprived herself of her ornaments and jewels to enable him to provide for his wants during his imprisonment.[n] That generosity for which she exacted no return, was, however, repaid some time afterwards with ample interest, and the grateful munificence which she herself experienced, and the elevation of her sons to the chief offices of the Roman state, were the result of her disinterested bounty.

The cardinal de Medici conveyed to Bologna.

On his arrival at Milan he was allowed to reside with the cardinal Sanseverino, and was frequently visited by the chief nobility of the place, the Visconti, Trivulzi, and Pallavicini, by whom he was treated with no less respect than if, instead of a prisoner, he had arrived there as a conqueror and a friend.

Is brought prisoner to Milan on his way to France.

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[n] *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *& v. Bandello Nov. vol.* ii. *nov.* 34. *& Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 83.

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friend. [o] At this place he found that the self-constituted council of the church continued its meetings with great formality. The late victories of the French had given additional importance to its proceedings, and frequent publications were made at the doors of the great church for Julius II. to appear and defend his cause. Whatever anxiety these measures might produce at Rome, they only excited the derision of the populace at Milan, who were accustomed to salute the cardinal Carvajal, as he passed through the streets, by the appellation of *papa*, in allusion to the expectation which he was supposed to entertain of filling the pontifical chair on the deprivation of Julius II. [p] Nor could all the efforts of the soldiery preserve the associated prelates and ecclesiasticks from similar proofs of disapprobation. The prudent conduct of the cardinal de' Medici, who notwithstanding his misfortunes, supported the dignity of his rank, and the authority of the apostolick see, contributed still further to diminish their influence, and discredit their proceedings. By the conveyance of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, he received from the pontiff a plenary power of absolving from their offences all those, who, in obedience to the commands of their king, had taken arms against the church. No sooner was his commission made publick,

[o] *Jovius, in vita Leo.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 48.

[p] *Ibid.*

publick, than he was surrounded by crowds of suppliants, eager to obtain from its legitimate fountain, a portion of that healing water which could obliterate all their stains. Such was the thirst of the soldiery for this spiritual refreshment, that even the threats of the council were ineffectual to prevent their resorting to the cardinal; and the city of Milan on this occasion exhibited the singular spectacle of a prisoner absolving his enemies from the very crime that had been the cause of his imprisonment, and distributing his pardon to those, who instead of manifesting any substantial symptoms of repentance, demonstrated, even by their detention of him, that they yet persevered in their sins.

CHAP. IX.

1512—1513.

JULIUS II. opens the council of the Lateran.—Louis XII. is desirous of a reconciliation with the pope—Is deluded by him—Expulsion of the French from Italy—The cardinal de' Medici obtains his liberty—Bologna restored to the Roman see—The Colonna release the duke of Ferrara from his dangerous situation at Rome—Ariosto ambassadour from the duke to the pope—Diet of Mantua—The Medici attempt to effect their restoration—The Florentines resolve to defend themselves—Indecision of Pietro Soderini—He escapes into the Turkish dominions—Restoration of the Medici to Florence—Extinction of the popular government—Restoration of Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan—Measures adopted by the Medici to secure their power—Conspiracy against them discovered—Death of Julius II.—His character and conduct considered—His encouragement of learning—Elegant library formed by him—Letter from Bembo to the pope on the revival of abbreviated, or short-hand, writing.

THE information brought to Rome by Giulio de' Medici, of the disabled state of the French army, was daily confirmed by further accounts, which effectually relieved the mind of the pope from the apprehensions which he had at first entertained.

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tained. Julius II. was too experienced a politician not to perceive, that if the French were unable to reap the promised fruits of their victory, they would soon be obliged to act on the defensive, and his deliberations on this subject inspired him with fresh hopes, that he should soon see his desires accomplished in their total expulsion from Italy. In the mean time he resolved to counteract the dangerous effects of the assembly at Milan, which was now usually denominated the *conciliabulum*, by opening a general council in the church of St. John Lateran; which he accordingly did with great solemnity, on the third day of May, in the year 1512. On this occasion he presided in person, accompanied by the college of cardinals, and such other dignified ecclesiasticks as were then in Rome. Several of the Italian princes and nobles of high rank also attended the assembly; and the emperour elect Maximilian, the kings of England and of Aragon, the republick of Venice, and most of the Italian states, declared by their ambassadours their abhorrence of the council of Milan, and their faithful adherence to that of the Lateran, as the only true and legitimate representation of the Christian church.[a]

Julius II. opens the council of the Lateran.

The

[a] The proceedings of the council of Lateran were collected by the cardinal de Monte, and published at Rome, in the year 1521, under the title,

"SA. LATERANENS.
"CONCILIUM NOVISSIMUM
"SUB JULIO II. ET LEONE CELEBRATUM.

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The directions given by Louis XII. to his general, la Palisse, were to follow up the advantages obtained by the victory of Ravenna, and to proceed immediately to Rome; but a more accurate estimate of the situation of his army, induced him to countermand these orders; and the French troops in fact, soon found sufficient employment in opposing the increasing power of the allies. At the same time Louis began to entertain serious apprehensions for the safety of his own dominions. Henry VIII. had already notified to him, that the treaties of amity which subsisted between them were accompanied by a condition, that he should not make war against either the pope or the king of Aragon; and that the infraction of this article would be considered as the commencement of hostilities. The first information which Ferdinand of Aragon is said to have received of the defeat of his troops at Ravenna, was by a letter to his young queen, from her uncle Louis XII. in which he endeavoured to console her for the loss of her brother, the gallant Gaston de Foix, by informing her, that he had died with great glory in the moment of victory.[b] With whatever emotions she received this intelligence, it was a sufficient admonition to Ferdinand to send new reenforcements to his kingdom of Naples, which he feared might be endangered

Louis XII. is desirous of a reconciliation.

[b] *Guicciard. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *fo.* 597.

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endangered by the rapid successes of the French; and it is said, that on this occasion he had intended to have once more availed himself of the services of the great Gonsalvo. Although he was no party in the *holy league*, which had in the preceding year been concluded between Julius II. and the kings of Aragon and England, the emperour elect, Maximilian, had now accommodated his differences with the Venetians, and decidedly espoused the cause of the pope; for which he expected his reward in the possession of the states of Milan, and the dutchy of Burgundy. Alarmed by these numerous and powerful adversaries, Louis XII. began to conceive, that the best use which he could make of the recent successes of his arms, would be to effect a reconciliation with the pontiff, with as little delay as possible.

Is deluded by him.

In the fluctuating politicks of these times, negotiations were always carried on, even in the midst of hostilities, and might in truth be considered as another mode of warfare, in which superiour talents and sagacity were often employed to make amends for want of success, or inferiority of military strength. Whilst the conflict took place before the walls of Ravenna, a treaty was depending between Louis XII. and the pope, in which it had, among other articles, been proposed, that Bologna should be restored to the holy see; that the duke of Ferrara on being absolved from spiritual censures, should relinquish the places of which he had

possessed

possessed himself in Romagna; and that the council of Milan should be dissolved; the cardinals and prelates who had adhered to it not being prejudiced in their dignities or their revenues.[c] This treaty, the conditions of which were so favourable to Julius II. had been transmitted to Rome for his final approbation and signature; and having, as he conceived, thus in his power the choice of peace, or of war, he had for some time postponed his decision, in the hopes that events might occur which might enable him to obtain still better terms. The defeat of his arms at Ravenna, called for an immediate determination; and although he had already begun to recover from his panick, yet he thought it advisable to confirm the treaty, nine days after he had received intelligence of that event.[c] So far was he, however, from intending to adhere with fidelity to his engagement, or so fearful was he of giving offence to his allies, that he immediately afterwards called into his presence the Venetian and Spanish ambassadours, and assured them that his intentions with respect to the prosecution of the war were in no degree altered; and that he had only taken this measure to gain time, and impose upon the king;[d] an assurance, which, in the result, was amply confirmed. The late successes of the French arms in Italy

[c] *Guicciard. lib.* x. *vol.* i. *fo.* 595.

[d] *Bembo Ist. Ven. lib.* xii. *in opt.* i. 332.

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Italy now operated as a powerful motive with Louis XII. who was not less ready than the pope to take advantage of any change of circumstances in his favour, to disavow his former propositions; and he particularly objected to the restoration of Bologna, which he affected to consider as the bulwark of his Milanese possessions, against the southern provinces of Italy. The intelligence which he daily received of the rapid decline of his cause in Italy, and the formidable attacks with which he was threatened by the other powers of Europe, contributed, however, to remove his objections, and he thought proper to avail himself of an offer made by the Florentines, to interpose their good offices for effecting a reconciliation. A meeting accordingly took place in Florence between the envoys of the king and those of the pontiff, where the conditions of the treaty were assented to, with some modifications, on the part of Louis XII. which did not affect the substantial articles of the agreement. Julius II. was now, however, well aware of the debilitated state of his adversary. Whilst the negotiations were depending, he had engaged in his service a considerable body of Swiss mercenaries, and the hesitation shown on the part of Louis XII. had afforded him a sufficient pretext for refusing to confirm the treaty. In order, however, to justify himself to the world, he directed that the terms proposed should be read in open consistory, in order that the cardinals might offer their opinions on the measures which it might be expedient

expedient for him to pursue. On this occasion Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, in the name of the king of England, and the cardinal Arborense, in that of the king of Spain, exhorted the pope, as it is supposed had previously been agreed on between them, not to abandon the cause of the church, but to persevere with firmness in opposing the arms of the French. Instead therefore of testifying his assent to the treaty, Julius avowed his determination to prosecute the war, and pronounced in the consistory a monitory to the king of France, to release his prisoner the cardinal de' Medici, under the penalties contained in the sacred canons. A measure so decidedly hostile, was, however, warmly opposed by the members of the college, who entreated the pope that he would not, by such severity, wholly alienate the mind of the king, but would postpone the publication of the monitory, and allow them to address to him a letter, signed by themselves individually, requesting him, as a sovereign bearing the title of the *most christian* prince, to restore to liberty their captive brother.[c] To this proposal Julius with some difficulty assented; but fortunately for the cardinal de' Medici, he had no occasion to rely on the clemency of the king, who, notwithstanding he is represented by the French historians as *the best of monarchs*, had

[c] *Guicciard. lib.* x. i. 598.

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had given frequent proofs, that his resentment was as implacable in peace, as his cruelty was unsparing in war. [f]

Expulsion of the French from Italy.

At this critical juncture, information was received of the approach, through the Tyrol, of a large body of Swiss in the service of the pontiff. The number for which he had agreed was six thousand; but on this occasion they were stimulated, not only by the certainty of pay and hopes of plunder, but by their resentment against Louis XII. who, as they were led to believe, had undervalued their courage and despised their services; and on their arrival in Italy their number was found to be no less than eighteen thousand. Descending into the territory of Verona, they were joined by the Venetian and papal troops; the former under the command of Gian-Paolo Baglioni, the latter under that of the duke of Urbino; and forming in the whole an army of upwards of thirty thousand men. [g] La Palisse had attempted to fortify himself in Valeggio; but finding the place too weak for defence, and being unable to contend with such superiour numbers, he

[f] Of this, the massacre committed by his directions, and under his own eye, at Peschiera, in the year 1509, and his conduct to Bartolommeo d'Alviano, whom he retained prisoner in France for many years, may serve, if any were wanting, as sufficient proofs.

[g] *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 84.

he distributed a great part of his troops in the strong garrisons of Crema, Brescia, and Bergamo; and with the remainder, consisting only of seven hundred lances, two thousand French infantry, and four thousand Germans, retired to Pontevico, a place of considerable strength, and well situated for maintaining a communication between the last mentioned cities and the territory of Milan.[h] On the morning after his arrival at this place, an order was received from the emperour elect Maximilian, that the imperial soldiers in the pay of the king of France should instantly withdraw from his service. These troops, which were chiefly composed of Tyrolese, willing to show a ready obedience to their sovereign, and perhaps glad to abandon the declining cause of the French, departed on the same day from the camp; and thereby occasioned the total ruin of their late allies. From Pontevico, la Palisse retreated to Pavia; but being closely pursued by his adversaries, who had prepared their artillery for an attack, he suddenly quitted that place, and took the road to Asti. This was the final relinquishment of all attempts on the part of the French to maintain their conquests in Italy. The inhabitants of Milan exasperated at the restless tyranny of their rulers, had already expelled them from the city, and terminated the proceedings of the *conciliabulum*, at the

[h] *Guicciard. lib.* x. *v.* i. *fi.* 601

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the very moment when it had passed a decree for suspending the pope from the exercise of his functions. No sooner were the inhabitants of Lombardy freed from the apprehensions of the French army, than their hatred burst forth in acts of violence and revenge. All the French soldiers and merchants found in Milan, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred persons, were indiscriminately slaughtered. In other towns of the Milanese, similar massacres occurred. Even whilst the French soldiery were retreating towards the Alps, they were pursued and harassed by the peasantry, who destroyed, without mercy, such as from incaution, or infirmity, were found at a distance from the main body.[i]

On quitting the city of Milan, the French cardinals had brought along with them, by the express orders of Louis XII. the cardinal legate de' Medici; but the important change which had taken place in the affairs of Italy, and the hurry and confusion which prevailed among the retreating party, soon suggested to him the practicability of an escape. They had already arrived at the banks of the Po, and were preparing to cross the stream, when the cardinal, pretending to be sick, was allowed to repose during the night at the *pieve*, or rectory of Cario. Having thus obtained a favourable opportunity

The cardinal de Medici effects his escape.

[i] *Muratori, Annali d' Italia.* x, 86.

portunity of effecting his purpose, he communicated his intentions to the abate Bongallo, who had attended on him with great fidelity, requesting him to use his endeavours to influence some person of rank or authority in the vicinity, to afford him a temporary refuge. The request of Bongallo was fortunately made to Rinaldo Zatti, a man of family, who had exercised in his youth the profession of arms, and was considered as the chief person in the district. His entreaties, which he is said to have urged with tears, might, however, have failed of their effect, had they not been accompanied by a favourable concurrence of circumstances. The memory of Lorenzo de' Medici, who had so long been the pacificator of Italy, and whose loss had been so fatally experienced, was yet fresh in the publick esteem, and induced a favourable disposition towards his family. Nor was the cardinal himself known by any other qualities than such as conciliated esteem and respect. Such are the motives to which Jovius has attributed the compliance of Rinaldo; but to these he might have added the declining state of the French cause, which, whilst it rendered the fugitives more earnest to effect their own escape than to prevent that of the cardinal, at the same time encouraged the efforts of their opponents. The consent of Rinaldo was, however, obtained only upon condition, that Visimbardo, another person of some importance in the neighbourhood, and of an opposite party to Rinaldo, would also assent to the measure. Visimbardo,

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though with great reluctance, was at length prevailed upon to afford his assistance; and by the concurrence of these new and unexpected friends, a small party of the inhabitants was secretly armed, for the purpose of rescuing the cardinal from his conductors. No sooner were the necessary preparations made, than information of them was despatched by Rinaldo to the abate; but even then, the attempt had nearly miscarried by a mistake of the messenger, who meeting with another ecclesiastick of the same rank as Bongallo, was on the point of communicating to him the purport of his errand, before he was aware of his errour. The French detachment, among whom was the cardinal, were now preparing to embark, but some pretext was still found by him for delay, and he was among the last who arrived at the banks of the river. Mounted on his mule, he had now reached the side of the vessel, when a sudden tumult, raised by Rinaldo and his followers, afforded him a pretext for turning about, as if to see from what cause it arose. In a moment he found himself encircled by his friends, who without much difficulty, or any bloodshed, repelled the efforts of those who attempted to prevent his escape. Thus happily liberated, the cardinal now assumed the habit of a common soldier, and passing the Po by night, arrived at the castle of Bernardo Malespina, a relation of Visimbardo. He had here to encounter new dangers. Bernardo was of the French faction, and the recommendations of Visimbardo lost their effect. The cardinal was thrust

thrust into a dove-house, and closely guarded, whilst a messenger was despatched by Malespina, to the French general Trivulzio, to inform him of the illustrious fugitive who had fallen into his hands, and to request directions in what manner he should dispose of him. Trivulzio though in the service of France, was by birth and disposition an Italian. He saw that the cause of the French was ruined, and was unwilling to aggravate the misfortunes of his countrymen; and by his recommendation or connivance, the cardinal was once more restored to liberty. Arriving at Voghiera, he met with a priest who supplied him with horses, with which he hastened to Piacenza, where he first found himself in a place of safety. He soon afterwards repassed the Po, and proceeded to Mantua, at which city he was received with great kindness by the marquis Francesco Gonzaga, whom he accompanied to his villa of Anda, where he speedily recovered from the effects of his fatigues.[j]

The sudden retreat of the French army from Italy had left little more to be done by the allies, than

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[j] *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 49. This escape of the cardinal de' Medici, is considered by Egidius of Viterbo as *miraculous.* "Ego enim, id tantum dixerim; a Domino "factum est istud, & præter omnia quæ antea multis seculis "gesta sunt, est mirabile oculis nostris." *Epi. ad Seraphinum in tom.* iii. *vet. monument. ap. Brandolini* LEO. *p.* 87.

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than to divide amongst themselves the territories which had thus been abandoned to their fate. The fortresses of Brescia, Cremona, and a few smaller places, were yet held by the French; but the cities of Romagna once more avowed their allegiance to the pope. The states of Parma and Piacenza, which were claimed by the pontiff, as part of the exarchate of Ravenna, also submitted to his authority; and, if we may judge from the expression of the publick voice on this occasion, the satisfaction of the inhabitants was not less than that of the pope, who had reunited these important domains to the territories of the church.[k] The duke of Urbino, at the head of a powerful body of troops, summoned Bologna to surrender. The Bentivoli, deprived of all hopes of succour, thought themselves sufficiently fortunate to effect their escape, and on the tenth day of June, 1512, the city capitulated to the papal arms. To such a degree was the pope exasperated against the inhabitants who had opposed his authority, torn down his statue, and treated his name with contempt, that he subjected them to grievous fines, and deprived them of many of their privileges, threatening even to demolish the place, and remove the inhabitants to Cento.[l] The return of

Bologna restored to the Roman see.

[k] The oration on the part of the citizens of Parma, made by Giacomo Bajardo, one of their ambassadours to the pope, has been preserved in the Vatican library.

[l] *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* x. i. 604.

of the cardinal de' Medici, who soon afterwards assumed the goverment, as legate of the district, allayed the apprehensions of the populace, and restored the tranquillity of the place.[m] The *fuorusciti*, or refugees, who had been expelled on account of their adherence to the pope, returned at the same time; and as the victorious party expressed their joy, whilst the friends of the Bentivoli were obliged to suppress their vexation, the whole city seemed to resound only with acclamations and applause.

Although the celebrated Italian commander, Fabrizio Colonna, had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, he was more fortunate than the cardinal de' Medici, having fallen into the hands of Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, who knew his worth, and treated him with the respect due to his high and unimpeachable character. Louis XII. had, at different times requested that Fabrizio might be delivered over to his generals, to be transferred to France; but the duke found reasons to excuse his noncompliance, till the total expulsion of the French from Italy enabled him to gratify the generosity of his own disposition, by freely restoring his captive to liberty.[n] The bloody contest, in which the duke had been compelled to take so active a part, being

The Colonna release the duke of Ferrara from his dangerous situation at Rome.

[m] *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii *p.* 51.

[n] *Muratori, Annali d' Italia,* x. 81.

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being now terminated, he became desirous of obtaining a reconciliation with the pope, and an absolution from the spiritual censures under which he yet laboured; and as Fabrizio, on quitting Ferrara, had returned to Rome, the duke availed himself of his services to discover the disposition of the pope, as to the terms on which he would concede his pardon. Julius expressed no great reluctance in complying with the wishes of the duke, but suggested that some important arrangements were previously requisite, for which reason, his presence would be necessary in Rome. A safe-conduct was accordingly granted by the pope; and the Spanish ambassadour, in the name of his sovereign, also pledged himself to the duke, for his secure return.[o] In the month of June, 1512, he quitted his capital,[p] and on his arrival at Rome, was admitted into the consistory, where he humbly requested pardon for having born arms against the holy see; entreating to be restored to favour, and promising to conduct himself in future as a faithful son and feudatory of the church. Julius received him with apparent kindness, and deputed six cardinals to treat with him, as to the terms of the proposed reconciliation; but the surprise of the duke may well be conceived, when the ecclesiasticks

[o] *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* xi. ii. 5.

[p] *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* x. 87.

ticks proposed to him that he should devest himself of the territory of Ferrara, which he had derived through a long train of illustrious ancestors, and should accept as a compensation, the remote and unimportant city of Asti, to which the pope had of late asserted some pretensions.[q] Of all his family, there was no one less likely than Alfonso to have submitted to such a disgrace; but his astonishment was converted into indignation, on hearing, that whilst he was humbly suing for pardon at Rome, the duke of Urbino, at the head of the papal troops, had entered his dominions, and had occupied, not only all such parts of Romagna as had been united with the dutchy of Ferrara, but the towns of Cento, Brescello, Carpi, and Finale; and had even prevailed upon the inhabitants of the important city of Reggio, to admit him within their walls.[r] The design of the pope in requesting the presence of the duke in Rome, if not already sufficiently apparent, was further manifested by his refusal to allow him to quit the city and return to his own dominions. To no purpose did the Spanish ambassadour, and the nobles of the family of Colonna, some of whom were closely connected by affinity with the pope, intercede with him for the strict and honourable performance of

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[q] *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* xi. ii. 2.

[r] *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* x. 87.

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of his engagement. Julius answered their remonstrances only by reproaches and threats. Convinced of his perfidious intentions, and anxious for the preservation of their own honour, Fabrizio, and Marc Antonio Colonna, resolved to rescue the duke from the danger to which he was exposed. Having, therefore, selected a small band of their confidential adherents, Fabrizio rode at their head towards the gate of S. John Lateran, followed at a short distance by the duke, and Marc Antonio; but to his surprise, he found the gates more strongly guarded than usual, and his further progress opposed. It was now, however, too late to retreat, and directing his followers to effect a passage by force, he conducted the duke in safety to the fortress of the Colonna family, at Marino. The protection of the duke was now intrusted to Prospero Colonna, who secretly conducted him through various parts of Italy; but so diligently were they pursued by the emissaries of the pope, that the duke was frequently obliged to change his disguise, and after having, for upwards of three months, appeared in the successive characters of a soldier, a cook, a hunter, and a monk, he had the good fortune to arrive in safety at Ferrara.[s] If, amidst the long catalogue of treachery and of crimes, it be pleasant

[s] *Jovius, in vita Alfonsi. p.* 178. *Sardi, Historie Ferraresi, lib.* xii. *p.* 226. *Giraldi, Comment. delle cose di Ferrara, p.* 156.

pleasant to record a generous action, it is doubly so to find that such an action met with a grateful return.

Ariosto ambassadour from the duke of Ferrara to the pope.

The vexation and resentment which the pope manifested on this occassion were extreme; and the duke was not without apprehensions that he might have sufficient influence with the allies, to induce them to turn their arms against Ferrara. He determined, therefore, if possible, to mitigate his anger by a respectful and submissive embassy; but such was the well known character of the pontiff, that he found it difficult to prevail on any of his courtiers to undertake the task. At length he fixed upon the poet Ariosto for this purpose, who preferring the will of his prince to his own safety, hastened to Rome. On his arrival he found that the pope had quitted the city, and retired to a villa in the vicinity. To this place Ariosto followed him; but on being admitted into the presence of his holiness, he soon discovered that the only chance which he had for his life, was to save himself by flight;[t] the ferocious pontiff having threatened, that if he did not instantly quit the place, he would have him thrown into the sea.[u] The poet was happy

[t] *Pigna, i Romanzi. lib.* ii. *p.* 76. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. vol.* ii. *p.* 1063.

[u] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Let. Ital. v.* vii. *par.* 3, *p.* 101.

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happy to avail himself of the safer alternative, and returned with all possible expedition to Ferrara, to relate the result of his embassy to the duke. [v]

Diet of Mantua.

Shortly after this event, a diet was held at Mantua, for the purpose, real or ostensible, of securing the peace of Italy, at which Matteo Langio, cardinal of Gurck, attended with full powers, on behalf of the emperour elect Maximilian. The envoy of Julius II. on this occasion was Bernardo da Bibbiena, the intimate friend and faithful adherent of the cardinal de' Medici; [w] Giuliano de' Medici, also appeared at this meeting, for the express purpose of obtaining the support of the diet in restoring the Medici to Florence. [x] The conduct of the Florentines, and particularly of the gonfaloniere Soderini, had already excited, in a high degree, the

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[v] To this embassy Ariosto himself alludes in his *Satire*.

" Andar più a Roma in posta non accade,
" A placar la grand' ira di *Secondo*."

[w] *Bandini, Il Bibbiena, p.* 8. That Bernardo had obtained the full confidence of this stern pontiff, appears from a letter of Pietro Bembo, to the brother of Bernardo. " Questo vi dico di vero, che di M. Bernardo tanto onora-
" tamente sente e parla N. S. che è cosa da non credere,
" considerata la natura di Sua Santità, che di nessuno si
" contenta, di nessuno si suol lodare." *Bemb. Ep.* 24. *Ottob.* 1512. *ap. Band. ut sup. p.* 9.

[x] *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* xi. 2, 8.

resentment of Julius II. The part which they had acted during the late war, in which under the plea of a treaty with Louis XII. they had supplied him both with money and troops, had been aggravated by the permission granted to the refractory cardinals to hold their council at Pisa. In order effectually to destroy the influence of the French in Italy, a change in the government of Florence was regarded as indispensably necessary. The pope had already sent to Florence his datary, Lorenzo Pucci, a native of that place, [y] who having many friends, and great influence there, endeavoured to promulgate opinions adverse to the ruling party; insinuating that it was now become necessary, not only to detach the city from its connexion with France, but to remove Soderini from his office of Gonfaloniere, and call back the Medici to their former authority. These practices had, however, failed of success, and the agent of the pope had been compelled to quit the city. [z] The diet of Mantua afforded the pontiff a more favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose. Giovan-

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[y] Afterwards raised by Leo. X. to the rank of cardinal, "de cujus egregia animi firmitate, constantiâque, ac de sin-"gulari in Medicam familiam fide et observantia, cuncta "sibi poterat verrissimè polliceri; &c. *Brandolini*, LEO. *p.* 91.

[z] *Nerli, Commentarii, lib.* v. *p.* 106. *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* xi. ii. 6.

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Giovan-Vittorio Soderini, brother of the gonfaloniere, who attended at this meeting as envoy of the Florentines, endeavoured to justify the conduct of the republick, by alleging, that in assisting the French to defend their Milanese possessions, they were acting under a particular convention, which obliged them to that measure, in the same manner as they had also stipulated to defend the Neapolitan dominions of the king of Spain; but arguments of this kind were of little avail. Jovius, who appears not to have been unacquainted with political intrigue, attributes the failure of these representations to the sordid avarice of the Florentine envoy, who ought to have enforced them by the offer of a considerable sum of money to his brother negotiators.[a] Those who, like Jovius, judge of others from themselves, may frequently be in the right; but the overthrow of the gonfaloniere was already resolved upon, and on this occasion it may well be doubted, whether even that powerful lenitive would have softened the severity of his fate.

No

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[a] "Sed cum hæc una maximè pecunia facilè possent "expiari, Victorius, scientia juris et æqui, potius quàm "his artibus instructus, quæ ad tractandas res gravissimas "necessariæ existimantur, totam spem rei componendæ "fœdè corrupit, quum dubitanti avaroque animo, tenacius "quàm oporteret pecuniis parcendum arbitraretur." *Jov. in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *fi.* 52.

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No sooner had their envoy quitted the diet, than the Florentines were declared to be enemies of the league, and the Spanish forces under the command of Cardona were directed to assist in restoring the Medici to their native place. The duke of Urbino, then at the head of the papal troops, actuated either by partiality to the cause of the French, of which he had frequently been suspected, or by envy and ill will to the cardinal de' Medici, refused either to take an active part, or to grant the use of his artillery, on this occasion; nor would he even consent, that such of his troops as were commanded by the Vitelli and by the Orsini, the near relations of the Medici, should join in the attempt. [b] These commanders, however, quitted his camp, and joined the allied army in person. Having on the ninth of August, 1512, passed the Appenines, Cardona arrived at Barberino, accompanied by the Cardinal de' Medici, under the title of legate of Tuscany; and proceeded from thence by the Valdemarina to the plain of Prato. [c] They were met in their progress by ambassadours from the magistrates of Florence, who requested to be informed of the object of the league; professing themselves willing to comply with

The Medici attempt to effect their restoration.

[b] *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 52. *Guicciard lib.* xi. ii. 9.

[c] *Nerli, Commentarii, lib.* v. *p.* 107.

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with it to the utmost of their power, and representing in the strongest terms, their adherence to his Catholick majesty, and the advantages which he might expect from their services. To this the viceroy replied, that his appearance there was not merely in consequence of the directions of his sovereign, but was a measure which had been resolved on at the general diet at Mantua, for the common security of Italy, and that whilst the gonfaloniere Soderini continued to preside in the Florentine state, the rest of Italy could have no assurance that the Republick would not, when an opportunity again occurred, attach itself to the interests of France. He therefore required, in the name of the league, that the gonfaloniere should be deprived of his office, and that a new form of government should be substituted, which might enjoy the confidence of the allied powers; a measure that could not, however, be effected without the restoration of the Medici to their former privileges and rights. [d]

The Florentines resolve to defend themselves.

These propositions gave rise in Florence to violent dissensions and debates; but before a definitive answer was returned, the gonfaloniere called together the *Consiglio maggiore*, or general assembly of the citizens, whom he addressed in an energetick

[d] *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* xi. 2, 9.

getick and pathetick harangue. He represented to the assembly the principal transactions which had occurred for the space of ten years, during which he had enjoyed his office, and freely offered his services, his possessions, and his life, for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and the preservation of their liberties. He professed himself willing, at any moment, to relinquish his authority to those who had so long intrusted him with it, should it, in their opinion, be likely to conduce to the general good; but he entreated them to be cautious, lest the measures which were avowedly directed against himself, should in the event subject the republick to an absolute and tyrannical authority, in comparison with which the subordination in which they were held by Lorenzo the magnificent, might be considered as an age of gold.[e] The oration of Soderini had a most powerful effect. The assembly resolved, that the proper form of their government should still be maintained; that the Medici should be allowed to return as private citizens, but that the gonfaloniere should not be removed from his office; and that if the commanders of the allied army should persist in this demand, they would defend their liberties and their country to the last extremity.[f]

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[e] The oration of Soderini, is given by Guicciardini, *lib.* xi. 2, 11. *et. v. Nerli Commentarii, lib.* v. *p.* 108.

[f] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. ii. 12.

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The first apprehensions of the Florentines were for the town of Prato, about ten miles from Florence, the garrison of which they reenforced with two thousand soldiers hastily collected, and one hundred lances, under the command of Luca Savello, who had grown old in arms without having acquired either experience or reputation.[g] To these was also added a body of Florentine troops, which after having been attacked and dispersed by the papal army in Lombardy, had again assembled under their leaders. The army of the viceroy consisted of five thousand experienced and well-disciplined foot soldiers, and two hundred men at arms, but they were ill supplied with ammunition and artillery, and even with the necessary articles of subsistence; insomuch, that their commander began to entertain serious apprehensions that he should not long be able to maintain his position. He therefore proposed to the Florentine magistrates to withdraw his troops, without insisting on the deposition of the gonfaloniere, if they would admit the Medici into the city as private inhabitants, and pay to him such a sum of money as should be agreed on, but which should not exceed thirty thousand ducats. For the further negotiation of this treaty, he granted a safe-conduct to the Florentine envoys, and proposed to refrain from his

Indecision of Pietro Soderini.

[g] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. ii. 12.

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his projected attack on the town of Prato, if the Florentines would send to his camp a temporary supply of provisions.[h] This was one of those critical moments on which the fate of a people sometimes depends. Notwithstanding the resolutions of the general assembly, many of the principal citizens earnestly entreated the Gonfaloniere to conclude the negotiation, and in particular to furnish the approaching army with the proposed supply. Soderini hesitated; and this hesitation accomplished his ruin.[i] In consequence of his indecision, the envoys were prevented from returning to the enemies camp, on the day which had been prescribed for that purpose. The claims of hunger admit not of long procrastination. The town of Prato, which offered a plentiful supply, was attacked with the only two pieces of artillery that accompanied the army, and which had been brought by the cardinal de' Medici from Bologna; the garrison, which consisted in the whole of upwards of four thousand men, shamefully abandoned its defence; and the Spaniards, having effected a breach, rushed into the town, and made an indiscriminate

Prato captured and sacked.

[h] *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* xi. ii. 13.

[i] On this occasion, Guicciardini justly remarks, "Niuna "cosa vola più che l'occasione; niuna più pericolosa che'l "giudicare dell' altrui professioni; niuna più dannosa che "il sospetto immoderato." *Storia d' Ital. lib.* xi. ii. 13.

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criminate slaughter, as well of the inhabitants as of the soldiery. The number of those who perished, is variously estimated from two to five thousand persons. The unsparing violence, licentiousness, and rapacity of the Spaniards, are displayed by all the Florentine historians, in terms of sorrow and execration,[j] and it is said that if the cardinal de' Medici, and his brother Giuliano, had not, at the risk of their lives, opposed themselves to the fury of the conquerors, these enormities would have been carried to a still greater excess.[k] By the exertions of the cardinal, a guard was placed at the door of the great church, whither the chief part of the females had retreated for safety;[l] but that these

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[j] *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib.* v. 149. 153. *Nerli, Comment. lib.* v. *p.* 109. *Guicciard. lib.* xi.

[k] "Legatus tamen flendo, & notos quosque milites depre-
"cando, Julianusque item frater, & Julius patruelis, multos
"conservarunt, quum neque pecuniæ neque periculis ullis
"parcerent, et sese vulneribus objectare minimè dubitarent,
"modò ante omnia Matronarum et Virginum pudorem
"adversus militum libidinem tuerentur." *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* ii. *p.* 53.

[l] "Non sarebbe stata salva cosa alcuna dall' avaritia,
"libidine, e crudeltà de' vincitori, se il cardinale de' Medici,
"messe guardie alla chiesa maggiore, non havesse conser-
"vata l' onestà delle Donne, le quali quasi tutte vi erano
"rifuggite." *Guicciard. lib.* xi. ii. 14. Other authors, however, affirm that no respect or mercy was shown either to the sanctuaries of religion, or even to children in the arms

these precautions were not always sufficient to answer the intended purpose is evident, from the instances which have been given of the magnanimous conduct of some of the women on this occasion.[m]

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The intelligence of this alarming transaction was received by the Florentine envoys, as they were proceeding to the camp of the allies to conclude the negotiation; but the opportunity for reconciliation was now past, and they therefore speedily returned to Florence to apprize their fellow citizens of the event. Though distinguished by many good qualities, the Gonfaloniere was not possessed of the courage and promptitude requisite on such an occasion. No effectual measures were yet taken for the defence of the city; and his impolitick adherence to

Deposition of Soderini.

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arms. *v. Nardi, lib.* v. *p.* 143. *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 88. *Ammirato.* iii. 307.

[m] One of these is that of a young lady, who to preserve her chastity, precipitated herself from the balcony of the house into the street, and perished by the fall. Another is that of the wife of an artificer, who having been compelled by a soldier to accompany him for several years, at length found an opportunity of revenging herself on her ravisher, by cutting his throat as he lay asleep; after which she returned to her husband at Prato, bringing with her five hundred gold ducats, which she presented to him as a recompense for her violated chastity. *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib.* v. *p.* 149.

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to the French had, in this emergency, left him without an ally. His helpless condition was too evident not to be perceived by the friends of the Medici within the city, who resolved not to wait the approach of the viceroy for effecting a revolution. About thirty young men of the principal families, uniting themselves in a body, entered the palace of magistracy, and seizing on the Gonfaloniere, threatened to put him to death, if he did not instantly accompany them; at the same time offering him an asylum in the house of Piero Vettori, two of whose sons had engaged in the undertaking, and pledging their faith for his personal safety. Unprovided with the means of resistance, and deserted by his adherents, Soderini peaceably submitted to his fate; and the insurgents having called together the other magistrates, and obtained a solemn deposition of the Gonfaloniere, entered into an immediate treaty with the viceroy.[n] By this act of violence, which is always adverted to by the Florentine historians with great disapprobation and regret, the free constitution of the city received its fatal wound; but it may justly be doubted, whether if such an event had not taken place, the consequences would not have been still more to be lamented. Had the allied army entered the city in a hostile manner, an absolute and severe dominion would probably have been substituted

[n] *Guicciard. Storia. d' Ital. lib.* xi. ii. 15. *Nardi, Istor. Fior. lib.* v. *p.* 153.

substituted for the more moderate authority which the Medici continued to exercise for several years after their return; whilst the carnage and devastation which would have ensued, might have added new horrours to the page of history, already too deeply stained with the relation of similar events. 1512. Æt. 37.

He escapes into the Turkish territories.

The friends of the Medici within the city, having thus accomplished their purpose, conducted Soderini on the same evening from the house of Vettori, and sent him under a guard to Siena; to which place he was also accompanied by several of his relations and friends. Here he obtained from the pope a passport to proceed to Rome; but having been apprized, by his brother, the cardinal Soderini, that Julius had a design to despoil him of his riches, which he was supposed to have amassed to a considerable amount, he hastened to Ancona, where he took shipping and proceeded to Ragusa. Being informed, soon after his arrival, that the pope had expressed great resentment against him, he quitted Ragusa, and took up his residence within the Turkish dominions.° In effecting his escape he had been assisted by Antonio di Segna, who had been sent to him by his brother to apprize him of the danger which would attend his visit to Rome. Antonio

° *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *v.* ii. *p.* 15. *Nardi, His. di Fior. lib.* v. *p.* 152.

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Antonio had no sooner returned to the city, than he was seized upon by the order of the pope, and committed to prison, where he was subjected to the torture, to compel him to discover the place of retreat of the Gonfaloniere, and the circumstances attending his escape. Being liberated in the course of a few days, he returned to his house, where he soon afterwards died, in consequence of the sufferings which he had undergone,[p] leaving on the memory of Julius II. a stain which will present itself in fresh colours, as often as his name occurs to the notice of posterity.

Restoration of the Medici to Florence.

On the last day of August, 1512, Giuliano de' Medici entered the city of Florence, from which he had been expelled with his brother eighteen years before. He was accompanied by Francesco Albizi, at whose house he alighted, and where he was visited by most of the principal families in the place. On this occasion, it was remarked that many of those who had been the most forward in offering their lives and fortunes in the support of Soderini, were the most assiduous in their endeavours to secure

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[p] "Ma il papa, parendogli essere stato ingannato, nè "potendo con altri isfogare la sua collora, tornato che fu "Antonio di Segna a Roma, lo fece mettere in prigione, ove "hebbe ancora *alcuni tratti di corda*, ed essendo poi ritornato "a casa sua ammalato, in pochi dì finì sua vita; e tale fu il "ristoro, ch' egli ebbe dell' amorevole servizio fatto al car- "dinale ed a Piero Soderini." *Nardi, lib.* v. *p.* 152.

cure the favourable opinion of Guiliano de' Medici.[q] It was not, however, until the viceroy Cardona entered the city, that the depending negotiations were finally terminated. Seating himself in the vacant chair of the Gonfaloniere, he prescribed to the magistrates the terms of the treaty, on which alone he would consent to withdraw his army. His propositions although confusedly expressed, or ill understood by his reluctant hearers, who were still eager to preserve, at least, the external forms and shadow of liberty, were assented to without opposition.[r] In these discussions the Medici displayed great moderation. They only demanded that they should be allowed to return as private citizens, and should have the right of purchasing their forfeited property and effects, at the prices for which they had been sold by government; paying also the amount of such sums as had been laid out in their improvement. With respect to the political connexions of the state, it was agreed that the Florentines should enter into the league with the other allies, for the common

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q *Nerli, comment. lib.* v. *p.* 11.

r "Le quali cose però erano da lui dette tanto confusamente, che poco si poteva intendere, quali dovessero essere questi provvedimenti, e questi modi dello assicurare; oltre che, & l'udire & l'intendere de gli uomini erano per dolore & dispiacimento dell' animo in modo impedito & preoccupato da gravi pensieri, che poco le sue parole s'attendevano." *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib.* v. *p.* 151.

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common defence of Italy; that they should pay to the emperour elect Maximilian, forty thousand ducats, to the viceroy Cardona, on behalf of his sovereign, eighty thousand, and for his own use, twenty thousand; and they also engaged in a particular alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon, for the mutual defence of their respective possessions.[s]

Extinction of the popular government.

The return of the Medici to their native place had already overthrown the popular form of the Florentine government, and the expulsion of the Gonfaloniere rendered it necessary to form new regulations for the conduct of the state. As the cardinal yet remained at Prato, the magistrates and principal executive officers met together, and admitting Giuliano and his adherents to their councils, they attempted to form such a system, as, whilst it admitted the return of the Medici, might counterbalance the preponderating influence which that family had before enjoyed. To this end, they proposed that the Gonfaloniere should be elected for one year only, and that he should not be allowed to carry on any negotiation, or hold correspondence with foreign powers, without a thorough participation with the other members of the state. A council of eighty citizens was to be chosen every six months, and the principal magistrates were to be created

[s] *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib.* v. *p.* 151. *Nerli, Comment. lib.* v. *p.* 110. vi. *p.* 113.

created by the *Consiglio grande*, as had formerly been the custom.[t] In these regulations Giuliano, who is said to have inherited the mildness and urbanity of his ancestor, Veri de' Medici, rather than the political sagacity and vigilance of the great Cosmo, readily concurred; and Giovan-Battista Ridolfi was appointed the first Gonfaloniere under the reformed government. It soon, however, appeared, that by this institution, the Medici were left without authority, at the mercy of their opponents; and as the new Gonfaloniere was not only a man of great influence, but strongly attached to the popular party, apprehensions were justly entertained, that as soon as the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from the vicinity, the Medici and their adherents would again be expelled. In this emergency, many of the chief citizens resorted to the cardinal at Prato, and concerted with him and with Giulio de' Medici, and Lorenzo the son of the unfortunate Piero, the means of repairing the errour of Giuliano, and of establishing the government in the same manner as it had been conducted before the expulsion of the Medici in 1494.[u] Whilst the members of the senate were debating on the best mode of carrying into effect the proposed system of their government, the palace was surrounded by armed men, who put a speedy

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[t] *Nerli, Comment. lib.* vi. *p.* 112. 114.

[u] *Ibid. p.* 115

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a speedy period to their deliberations. In their stead, a new council of sixty-six citizens was appointed; the members of which were known to be wholly devoted to the Medici. Ridolfi was compelled to renounce the office of Gonfaloniere, which he had so lately accepted. The brother and nephews of Piero Soderini were ordered to be confined at different places within the Florentine territory, and Giuliano was expressly acknowledged as chief of the state.[v] This event may be considered as the overthrow of the popular government of Florence, and it may perhaps be doubted, whether, if the rights of the citizens had been less rigidly insisted on, in the deliberations held with Giuliano de' Medici, a greater share of authority might not have been preserved to the people at large, than it was afterwards possible to secure. The freedom of a state is no less liable to be endangered or lost, by intemperance and violence, than by indifference and neglect; and when once the spirit of opposition is roused to such a pitch, that either party sees its own destruction in the success of the other, they at length resort, by common consent, to the indiscriminating authority of a despot, as the only shelter from that political resentment, which, whilst it professes to aim only at the publick good, seems to be of all passions the most unextinguishable and the most ferocious.

About

[v] *Nerli, Comment. lib.* vi. *p.* 115.

About the same time that the Medici returned to Florence, Maximilian Sforza, the son of Lodovico, who had for several years found a refuge at the Imperial court, was restored by the arms of the league, to the supreme authority of the state of Milan, as had been agreed on at the diet of Mantua.[w] He entered his capital on the fifteenth day of December, 1512, amidst the rejoicings of the populace, accompanied by the chief commanders of the allied troops, and an immense concourse of Italian, German, Spanish, and Swiss nobility, and captains.[x] These important services were not, however, rendered to him, without such claims for compensation as greatly diminished their value. The Swiss laid him under heavy contributions for their pay, and the pope had already devested his dominions of the important territories of Parma and Piacenza. Unfortunately for the repose of Italy, the young duke was not endowed with vigour and talents to contend with those who had long been exercised in political intrigues, and habituated to violence and plunder; and the state of Milan, which ought to have been considered as the barrier of Italy, against the dangerous inroads of the French, was debilitated and abridged, at the very time when it ought, in sound policy, to have been invigorated and supported by every possible means.

Restoration of Maximilian Sforza duke of Milan.

With

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[w] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *v.* ii. *fi.* 7.

[x] *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, x. 90.

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Measures adopted by the Medici to secure their power.

With the suppression of the fanatical party formed under the influence of Savonarola, and the restoration of the Medici to Florence, the vivacity and gaiety of the inhabitants returned, and the spectacles and amusements for which that city had formerly been remarkable, were revived. Among other methods adopted by the Medici to strengthen their own authority, and conciliate the favour of the populace, was the institution of two companies, or orders of merit. One of these was denominated the order of the diamond, alluding to the *impresa*, or emblem of a diamond ring with three feathers, and the motto, *semper*, adopted by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and now revived by his youngest son Giuliano, with a view of securing his own influence by recalling the memory of his father. The other order, of which Lorenzo de' Medici, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was considered as the chief, was called the company of the *broncone*, in allusion to the *impresa* of Piero, representing trunks of wood consuming in the midst of flames.[y] This society was chiefly composed of the younger part of the citizens, who from their rank and time of life, were judged to be the most suitable companions for Lorenzo, upon whom, as the representative of the elder branch of his family, the authority which it had enjoyed in the state was expected to devolve

[y] *v. ante, chap.* vii. *p.* 32.

devolve.[z] To the members of these societies, precedence was given on publick occasions, and it was their particular province to preside over the festivals, triumphs, and exhibitions, which now once more enlivened the city of Florence, and which were doubtless intended to turn the attention of the people from the consideration of their new state of political degradation. In compliance with the fashion of the times, the cardinal also adopted an emblem, which sufficiently manifested his intention to retain the authority which he had thus, by the labour of so many years, regained in his native place; but in choosing on this occasion the decisive representation of the *giogo* or yoke, he endeavoured to render it less offensive by the scriptural motto, *Jugum meum suave est, & onus meum leve.* "My yoke is easy, and my burthen light."[a] It is however highly probable, that such an unlimited assumption of absolute power as that emblem implies, was not compensated by the language which accompanied it, in the estimation of those inflexible friends

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[z] *Nerli, Commentarii. lib.* vi. *p.* 121. *Nardi, Histor. Fior. lib.* vi. 158.

[a] *Ammirato, Ritratto di Leone* x. *Opusc. vol.* iii. *p.* 73. On the return of the cardinal, he received a letter of congratulation from M. Angelo de Castrocaro, who seems to have been a zealous adherent of the family. For this letter which has never before been printed see note B. at the end of the volume.

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friends to the liberties of their country, many of whom still remained within the city; and who were well aware, that if they were once effectually placed under the yoke, the weight of it must in future depend upon the will of their master.

Conspiracy against the Medici.

The return of the Medici to Florence, had not been signalized by any act of severity against the adverse party; yet neither the moderation of the cardinal in this respect, nor the means adopted by him and his family, to gratify the people by publick spectacles and amusements, could prevent the dangerous effects of individual dissatisfaction and resentment. Scarcely had the publick ferment subsided, when a project was formed for the destruction of the Medici, and the restoration of the ancient government, the chief promoter of which was Pietro Paolo Boscoli, a young man of family, whose proficiency in literature had led him to the contemplation of the examples of ancient courage, and inspired him with that enthusiasm for liberty which is of all passions the most noble and the most dangerous. In the Medici, he saw the oppressors of his country; and whilst he dwelt with admiration on the splendid treachery of Brutus, he avowed his determination to imitate him, if another Cassius could be found to second his efforts. Such an associate was soon discovered in Agostino Capponi. Many persons of great reputation and extensive influence, secretly favoured the enterprise, and a plan was concerted for the assassination of the

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the obnoxious parties. An accident, occasioned by the negligence of Capponi, prevented, however, the execution of their project, and not only involved in destruction both himself and his companion, but led to the accusation of many citizens of the first respectability. As Capponi was entering the house of the Pucci, a paper fell from his bosom, which contained the names of such persons as had either engaged in the conspiracy, or were thought, by those with whom it originated, likely to favour their cause. This dangerous scroll was immediately communicated to the magistrates. Boscoli and Capponi were apprehended, and on their examination confirmed the suspicions to which the paper had given rise. Among those who appeared to have been implicated in the conspiracy, were Cosmo de' Pazzi, Archbishop of Florence, Nicolo Valori, the biographer of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the celebrated historian Nicolo Machiavelli, then secretary of the republick, Giovanni Folchi, Piero Orlandini, and many other persons of eminence, all of whom were ordered to be closely confined, until their guilt or their innocence might be ascertained by a further inquiry.[b]

In the midst of the agitation to which this alarming discovery gave rise, the attention of the cardinal

[b] *Nerli, Commentarii. lib.* vi. *p.* 123.

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nal de' Medici was suddenly called to a yet more important object, which induced him to quit the city of Florence in the midst of the investigation, and to proceed, with as much expedition as the state of his health would permit, to Rome. This was the death of the supreme pontiff, Julius II. which happened on the twenty-first day of February, in the year 1513.

Death of Julius II.

Notwithstanding the ample successes, which, in the latter part of his life, had attended the arms and crowned the designs of Julius II. they were by no means commensurate with the reach of his ambition, and the extent of his views. Not satisfied with having acted the principal part in the expulsion of the French from Italy, he had determined to free that country from all foreign powers, and to model its governments at his own pleasure. Hence he certainly meditated hostilities against his ally, the king of Spain, whose sovereignty of Naples was incompatible with his design. *If heaven be willing*, said he, shaking the staff which supported his aged steps, and trembling with rage, *the Neapolitans shall in a short time have another master.*[c] The late proceedings of the Medici in Florence had, however, given him no slight offence; inasmuch as they had not required his participation or concurrence in the political arrangements of the place

[c] *Muratori Annali d'Italia*, x. 92.

place, but had secured to themselves a supreme and independent authority.[d] Against the duke of Ferrara his resentment was unextinguishable, and he had already arrayed a powerful army to attack his dominions; nor is it improbable that he meant to have conferred on his nephew, the duke of Urbino, such an independent sovereignty in Italy, as would have ranked him among the first powers in Europe. But whilst Julius was immersed in these meditations, he forgot the uncertain tenure by which he held his own existence, and a few days sickness terminated his extensive projects, and laid him to rest. It has been asserted, that he died phrenetick, exclaiming, *Out of Italy, French! Out, Alfonso of Este!* but Muratori conjectures that he retained his reason to the last;[e] and it is indeed highly probable that those expressions, which were considered as the proofs of delirium, were nothing more than the effects of *The ruling passion, strong in death.*

His character and conduct considered.

The foregoing pages have afforded us sufficient opportunities of appreciating the character and talents of Julius II. Bold, enterprising, ambitious, and indefatigable, he neither sought repose himself, nor allowed it to be enjoyed by others. In searching

[d] *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, x. 92.

[e] *Ibid.*

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searching for a vicar of Christ upon earth, it would indeed have been difficult to have found a person, whose conduct and temper were more directly opposed to the mild spirit of Christianity, and the example of its founder; but this was not the test by which the conclave judged of the qualifications of a pontiff, who was now no longer expected to seclude himself from the cares of the world, in order to attend to the spiritual concerns of his flock. Julius II. is therefore not to be judged by a rule of conduct, which he neither proposed to himself, nor was expected to conform to by others. His vigorous and active mind corresponded with the restless spirit of the times, and his good fortune raised him to an eminence from which he looked down on the proudest sovereigns of the earth. His ambition was not, however, the passion of a groveling mind, nor were the advantages which he sought to attain of a temporary or personal nature. To establish the authority of the holy see throughout Europe, to recover the dominions of the church, to expel all foreign powers, or as they were then called, barbarians, from Italy, and to restore that country to the dominion of its native princes, were the vast objects of his comprehensive mind. These objects he lived in a great degree to accomplish; and it may well be doubted whether, if he had entered on his career at an earlier period of life, he would not have carried his designs into full effect. In suppressing the vicars of the church, and uniting their territories to

to the holy see, he completed what Alexander VI. had begun; but without incurring the odium which has, on that account, been attached to the memory of his predecessor. The Italian historians have not, however, shown themselves favourable to his fame; and Guicciardini asserts,[f] "That if he be "considered as a great man, it is only by those, "who having forgotten the right meaning of words, "and confused the distinctions of a sound judg- "ment, conceive that it is rather the office of a "supreme pontiff to add to the dominion of the "apostolick see by Christian arms and Christian "blood, than to afford the example of a well re- "gulated life."

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That the martial character of this pontiff, who frequently led his troops in person, tended to diminish the reverence due to the holy see, and like the enormities of Alexander VI. prepared the way for the reformation which speedily followed, has been conjectured by many writers; and seems indeed highly probable.[g] In his private life he is said

[f] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. ii. 31.

[g] The life and actions of Julius II. are sarcastically reprehended in the dialogue entitled *Julius exclusus*, in the second volume of the collection of the Pasquillades, *p.* 125. Julius applies to be admitted into paradise; but St. Peter not recognising him, he is obliged to give an account of his transactions in this life. This not satisfying the apostle, he

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said to have been addicted to the inordinate use of wine, which may account for some of the eccentricities recorded of him;[h] but it is admitted by all writers, that he did not, like too many pontiffs, disgrace his pontificate by dissipating the revenues and domains of the church among his relations and favourites. With the exception only of the city of Pesaro, the investiture of which, with the consent of the college of cardinals, was granted to his nephew, the duke of Urbino, the conquests of Julius were annexed to the dominions of the church, and he withstood the entreaties of his daughter Felice, the wife of M. Antonio Colonna, who solicited the hat of a cardinal for Guido da Montefeltro, the half brother of her husband; having openly declared to her that he did not think him deserving of that rank. Julius was the first pontiff who revived the custom which had long been discontinued by his predecessors, of suffering his beard

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he still refuses to admit him, and Julius threatens to besiege and make war upon heaven. Erasmus was suspected of being the author of this attack on the memory of the pontiff; but in a letter to cardinal Campegio, he vindicates himself with great warmth from the accusation. "Ineptiit "quisquis scripsit," says he, "at majore supplicio dignus, "quisquis evulgavit." *Eras. Ep. lib.* xii. *Ep.* 1.

[h] "Louis XII. en parlant de Jules II. le designoit "souvent par le nom d'yvrogne. L'outrage etoit autant "plus sensible, que Jules II. passoit pour le meriter." *Ligue de Camb.* i. 221.

beard to extend to its natural length, which he is supposed to have done in order to give additional respect and dignity to his appearance; but which may, with more probability, be attributed to his impatient temper and incessant occupations, which left him no time for the usual attentions to his person.

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That Julius was no scholar, is asserted on his own authority; but although he did not devote himself to sedentary occupations, he was not, like Paul II. a persecutor of men of learning. On the contrary, those few ecclesiasticks whom he raised to the purple by the suggestions of his own judgment, and without the solicitation of foreign powers, were all men of considerable talents and acquirements. At no time have the professors of literature been sparing of their acknowledgements for the favour of the great; and Julius II. is the frequent theme of applause, in the works of his contemporaries, who devoted themselves to the cultivation of Latin poety.[i] Of these, some have celebrated his magnanimity, his courage, his promp-

[i] In particular Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, has devoted to the praises of Julius II. several of his Iambicks and other poems, at the close of his works, published by Aldus, 1505. And Lorenzo Parmenio, *Custode* of the Vatican library, has celebrated the actions of this pontiff in a poem, which has lately been published. *Anecd. Rom. tom.* iii. *Tirab.* vi. *par.* iii. *p.* 201.

CHAP. IX. promptitude in war, and others his strict administration of justice, and his attention to the arts of peace. In a copy of verses addressed by Valerianus to the pope, on the proficiency made by his nephew, Giovanni Francesco della Rovere, in the study of the law, that author asserts, that not only polite literature, but the severer studies, had begun to assume a new form, and were cultivated under his influence with great success.[j] Nor can it be denied, that during his pontificate, amidst the tumults of war, the depopulation of cities, the ravages of pestilence and of famine, and all those calamities and commotions which agitate and distract the human mind, the great and distinguished characters, who were destined to illustrate by their works, the more pacifick reign of his successour, were principally formed. Already had Bembo distinguished himself by numerous productions, both in the Italian and Latin tongue, which had spread his reputation through the whole extent of Italy. Castiglione had composed his elegant work to

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j "Juli, maxime Pontifex, benigno,
"Cui felicia siderum favore,
"Cedunt omnia, et hoc tibi addiderunt
"Fata, uni tibi debita, ut videmus,
"Quod servare modum, elegantiamque,
"Non tantum studia hæc politiora,
"Verum illa asperiora, et exoleta,
"Jamdudum incipiunt, novumque leges
"Nostro ostendere seculo nitorem."
Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. x. 133.

to which we have before adverted, and Ariosto had not only formed the design, but made a considerable progress in the execution of his immortal poem. CHAP. IX. 1513. Æt. 38.

Of the favourable disposition of Julius towards men of talents, a decisive instance appears in his conduct towards Giovanni Antonio Flaminio, the learned father of a still more learned son; and who having pronounced an oration before him at Imola, in the year 1506, was honoured by him with the most friendly demonstrations of esteem and respect, and invited to take up his residence at Rome. Flaminio excused himself; and the pope, instead of manifesting his displeasure, presented him with fifty gold crowns. Some time afterwards, the bishop of Narni, having occasion to pay a visit to Imola, was ordered by the pope to call upon Flaminio, and to assure him of the continuance of his regard, and his wish to know in what manner he could give him the most effectual proofs of it.[k] The favour of the pontiff induced Flaminio to address to him a copy of Latin verses, in which the poet encourages him to persevere in his great design of delivering Italy from a foreign yoke, and to crown his glory by becoming the assertor of the liberties of his country. An exhortation so consonant Giovan-Antonio Flaminio.

[k] *Tirab. Storia della Letteratura Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 15.

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sonant to the disposition and views of the pope, was doubtless received with favour, and the stern mind of Julius might perhaps trace with satisfaction in the elegant lines of Flaminio, the durable records of his future fame.

Library formed by Julius II.

The Vatican library, which had been begun by Nicholas V. and enlarged by the attention of succeeding pontiffs, derived no great advantage from the patronage of Julius II. But this is not to be attributed so much to his disregard of literature, as to the design which he had formed of collecting a separate library for the use of the Roman pontiffs, which was not to derive its importance from the number, but from the value of the books and manuscripts of which it was to be composed. It was also intended that the splendour of this collection should be enhanced by works in painting and sculpture, of the most distinguished artists of the time; but the death of the pope prevented, in all probability, the completion of the plan; and as no such distinct collection has been adverted to in later times, it may be justly conjectured, that it has been united with that of the Vatican. In a letter of Bembo to the pope, written only a few days before his death, this library is particularly mentioned; and from the same letter we learn some curious particulars, not only respecting the attention of that pontiff to the promotion of literature, but to the restoration of the long lost art of abbreviated,

viated, or short-hand writing, of which Bembo may be considered as the reviver in modern times.[1]

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PIETRO BEMBO TO JULIUS II.

" In the acquisition of the volume lately sent to " you from Dacia, written in beautiful characters, " but such as are in our days unintelligible, I per- " ceive an additional instance of the perpetual good " fortune which has always attended you, and " which, whilst in the administration of publick " affairs, and the direction of the concerns of the " universe, it has enabled you to surpass the ex- " pectations of all men, has never failed to add to " your reputation, even in matters of less import- " ance. For after you had intrusted this book to " me, that I might endeavour to decypher the " characters, and inform you of the result, and I " had begun to turn over and carefully to inspect " its pages, I could not help entertaining more " confident hopes of success in my undertaking, " from the circumstances of its being enjoined by " you, than from the facility of the task, which " appeared indeed impracticable, or from my own " industry. In the course of a minute examination " of the whole manuscript, I observed, at the foot " of one of the pages, a line written in common let- " ters, but almost erased and obliterated, from which " I

1 " *Bembi, Ep. Fam. lib.* v. *Ep.* 8. *in op. tom.* iv. *p.* 203.

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" I collected that the volume was written in ancient " notes, or characters; such as were used by those " persons, who were denominated notaries; and " that the work itself was a portion of the commen- " tary of Hyginus, *de Syderibus*. On discovering " this line, it immediately occurred to me, that " this was the Ciceronian method of writing; for " I recollected that Plutarch has informed us, that " the profession of those who were called notaries, " took its origin from Cicero, who had invented a " series of marks, each of which represented a " combination of letters, and that he had instructed " his copyists in this art, who were thus enabled " to note down during the time of delivery, in a " small compass, and in a legible form, for his " use, the speeches of any of the senators, which " he wished to preserve. It was by this means, " Plutarch adds, that the oration which Cato pro- " nounced against the Cataline conspirators, in " opposition to the opinion of Cesar, had been " handed down to his time. I also recollect, that " not only Plutarch, but Valerius Martial has " remarked, that the ancients were accustomed " to make use of notaries, for the sake of expedi- " tion in writing, and his celebrated verses on this " subject yet remain. Ausonius likewise com- " memorates, in his verses, a boy, who with the " aid of a few characters, took down a long dis- " course during the time of recitation. Pruden- " tius, in a poem on the martyrdom of Cassianus, " has recorded, that the latter had established an " academy

" academy, in which children were taught the use
" of these characters. Having therefore compared
" another copy of Hyginus, written in our usual
" manner, with this Dacian manuscript, I have
" been enabled to explain the sense and significa-
" tion of many of these marks, the meaning of
" which is changed, not only by the variation of
" the marks themselves, but in some degree even
" by the punctuation; although in such a definite
" and regular form, that if any one would take the
" trouble, it does not appear to me very difficult
" to reduce it to a system, and once more restore
" it to general use. This discovery afforded me
" great pleasure; as I conceived I should give you
" complete satisfaction on this head; and this
" pleasure was in some degree increased by the
" consideration, that although several distinguished
" and learned men of the present times, had, at
" your desire, endeavoured to explain this work,
" their attempts had been wholly fruitless. As a
" favourable opportunity thus offers itself of extend-
" ing your fame in the literary world, and securing
" the applause of future times, I entreat you not
" to neglect it; but to devote some portion of
" your extensive talents, which are sufficiently
" capacious to embrace and comprehend all sub-
" jects, in recovering this mode of writing, by
" intrusting it to skilful printers, if such are to be
" found, as they certainly are, to be by them made
" publick. For what indeed can be more honour-
" able to your reputation, or more advantageous

to

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" to the studies of the learned, than to restore, by " your pious attention, an art invented by Cicero, " and long held in great esteem for its acknowledg- " ed utility; but which, through the injuries of " time, has for a long course of years been wholly " lost. Ptolomy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, " and Attalus, king of Pergamus, are commended " for their diligence in collecting books for the " celebrated libraries which they formed; and it " has always been considered as praise-worthy, " even in the greatest characters, and in those " possessed of supreme authority, to promote lite- " rary studies, and to supply materials for those " talents, which are devoted to the cultivation of the " liberal arts. This diligence you have yourself " emulated, in having added another library to the " celebrated collection formed by your predeces- " sors in the Vatican; not indeed distinguished " by the number of its volumes, but by their high " value, and perfect preservation; and rendered " much more pleasant for the use of the pontiffs, " by the commodiousness and beauty of the place, " and the elegant ornaments of statues, pictures, " and mirrours, with which it is embellished. For " my own part, I confess I do not see in what " manner you can confer greater ornament, greater " elegance, or even greater authority, on this your " library, than by recalling to light the invention " of this almost divine man, and restoring his art " of writing. For although it has always been " your character not to devote your attention to " any

" any objects but those which you have endeavour-
" ed with such constant perseverance, incredible
" expense, and immense labours and danger, to
" accomplish, and by which the Roman republick
" intrusted to your care might maintain its su-
" preme authority; yet it is due from your pru-
" dence, and your piety, not to neglect that which
" relates to the study of literature; for in those
" studies are involved many things of no inconsi-
" derable importance to the ornament and conve-
" nience of human life."

CHAP. X.

1513.

ASSEMBLY of the Conclave—Mode of electing a pope—Election of the cardinal de' Medici—Motives of the choice of the conclave—Reason of his taking the name of Leo X.—His coronation—Procession to the Lateran—Embassy from Florence—Leo pardons the Florentine conspirators—Recalls Pietro Soderini—Appoints Bembo and Sadoleti his secretaries—Resolves to establish the peace of Europe—Louis XII. threatens the state of Milan—Treaty of Blois—Leo endeavours to dissuade Louis XII.—Opposes him and forms with Henry VIII. the treaty of Mechlin—Subsidizes the Swiss—Louis XII. attacks the Milanese—Battle of Novara and defeat of the French—Leo recommends lenient measures—Expulsion of the French from Italy—Henry VIII. invades France—Battle of the Spurs—The king of Scotland attacks England—Battle of Flodden—Congratulatory letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII.—Treaty of Dijon—Battle of Vicenza—The emperour elect and the Venetians submit their differences to Leo X.—Leo renews the meetings of the Lateran council—Nominates four cardinals—Lorenzo de' Medici assumes the government of Florence—Giuliano de' Medici admitted a Roman citizen—Leo pardons the refractory cardinals—Humiliation and absolution of Louis XII.

ON the fourth day of March, 1513, the cardinals who happened to be then in Rome, entered the church of S. Andrea, where the mass of the *Spirito santo*, was celebrated by the cardinal of Strigonia;

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nia; after which the bishop of Castello, having made the usual oration, *de pontifice elegendo*, they went in procession to the conclave to proceed to the choice of a pope. It was not until the sixth day of the same month, that the cardinal de' Medici arrived in Rome, and joined his brethren. The whole number of cardinals who were assembled on this occasion was twenty-five. [a]

Assembly of the conclave.

Mode of electing a pope.

There are four different modes of electing the supreme pontiff; by *inspiration*, by *compromise*, by *scrutiny*, and by *access*. [b]

By inspiration.

An election by *inspiration*, is effected by several of the cardinals calling aloud, as by a sudden impulse, the name of the person whom they wish to raise to the pontifical dignity. This method of resorting to the pretext of supernatural aid, is seldom relied on, except when all human means have failed of success. If, however, a powerful party can be raised, and their efforts happen to be strongly seconded, the rest of the cardinals, unwilling to distinguish themselves by a decided opposition, or to be the last in expressing their consent, hasten to concur in the choice.

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[a] *Conclave di Leone* x. *apt. Conclavi de' Pontefici Rom. vol.* i. *p.* 171, 182.

[b] *Ceremonial de Rome, in Supplem. au corps diplomatique, tom.* v. *p.* 46, &c.

The election by *compromise*, is found expedient, when the cardinals, not being able to determine on a proper person, agree to submit the choice of a pontiff to one, or more, of their own body, nominated for that purpose. It was thus that John XXII. after having obtained the solemn assent of the whole college to abide by his decision, assumed to himself the pontificate; an event which induced the cardinals not to intrust this power in future to any of their number, without such restrictions as might effectually prevent the recurrence of a similar event. By compromise.

In choosing a pope by *scrutiny*, the cardinals each write their own name, with that of the person whom they wish to recommend, on a *billet*, or ticket; which they afterwards place, with many ceremonies and genuflexions, in a large and highly ornamented chalice, on the altar of the chapel in which they assemble. The tickets are then taken out by officers appointed from their own body, for that purpose, and the number is carefully compared with that of the persons present; after which, if it appear, that any one of the cardinals has two thirds of the votes in his favour, he is declared to be canonically elected pope. When, however, after repeated trials, this does not occur, a new proceeding takes place, which is called election by *access;* in which any cardinal may accede to the vote of another, by an alteration of his ticket in a prescribed form. When by these means the choice By scrutiny. By access.

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of a pontiff is effected, the tickets are prudently committed to the flames, to prevent all pretext for further inquiry. [c]

The cardinal de Medici elected pope.

After a deliberation which lasted for the space of seven days, the choice of the conclave fell upon the cardinal de' Medici, who was elected by scrutiny. [d] As he was at this time the chief cardinal deacon, it was his office to examine the votes, in which he conducted himself with great modesty; and when he had the happiness to find that he was himself the fortunate candidate, not the least alteration was perceived in his countenance. [e] He immediately received the adoration of the cardinals, whom he embraced and kissed in return. They then requested to know what name he would assume; to which he replied, that he should submit it to the sacred college; but on being again entreated to make his choice, he answered, that among his other vain cogitations, he had at some times thought, that if he should ever be called to the pontifical chair, he would take the name of LEO THE TENTH; which, if agreeable to them, he

He assumes the name of Leo X.

[c] *Ceremonial de Rome, in Supplem. au corps diplomatique, tom.* v. *p.* 48, 49.

[d] *Conclave di Leone* x. *p.* 178.

[e] *Par. de Grassis ap. Not. et Extraits des MSS. du Roi.* ii. 579.

he would now adopt; but if not, he would alter his intention. On this many of the cardinals expressed their approbation, alleging, that if they had been elected, they would have made the same choice.[f] One of the windows of the conclave which had been closed up as usual on such occasions, was then broken down, and the cardinal, Alessandro Farnese, announced to the people in the usual form, the election of a pope, and the name which he had assumed.[g] He was then placed in the pontifical chair, and carried to the church of

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[f] "Interim petimus quo nomine vellet in Apostolatu "vocari, & dixit non curare, sed remittere ad dispositionem "collegii. Ipsi autem cardinales hortabantur, ut ipse indi- "caret, quo nomine vellet vocari; & dixit quod alias, inter "vanas suas cogitationes, cogitaverat, quod si unquam Pon- "tifex esset, vellet vocari Leo X. & nunc, si iis placerat, "sic vocaretur, sin autem aliter ut iis placeret: Et multi "comprobaverunt dicentes quod si ipsi electi fuissent, eo "nomine vocari voluissent, & sic conclusum fuit, cum tanto "plausu populi, ut credibile vix sit." *Paris Grassius, ap. Fabr. vita Leon.* X. *adnot p.* 269.

[g] GAUDIUM MAGNUM NUNTIO VOBIS; PAPAM HABEMUS, REVERENDISSIMUM DOMINUM JOANNEM DE MEDICIS DIACONUM CARDINALEM SANCTÆ MARIÆ IN DOMENICA; QUI VOCATUR LEO DECIMUS.

On this occasion, Giovan-Francesco Superchio, better known by the name of Philomusus, addressed to the pontiff a poem, entitled, SYLVA ET EXULTATIO IN CREATIONE PONT. MAX. LEONIS DECIMI.

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of S. Pietro, accompanied by the whole conclave, and the ecclesiasticks of the city, amidst the rejoicings of the people, and the discharge of cannon; the clergy singing as they passed *Te Deum laudamus;* and being brought before the great altar, he was there enthroned. [h]

Motives of the choice of the college.

The causes which determined the college in their choice of a pontiff on this occasion, yet rest chiefly on conjecture. It is however sufficiently understood, that whilst the elder members inclined towards the party of the cardinal Alborese, who had on one examination thirteen votes in his favour,[i] the younger, and particularly those of royal and noble families, adhered to that of the cardinal de' Medici. Of the elder members, no one possessed greater influence than Raffaelle Riario, nephew of Sixtus IV. whom the cardinal de' Medici found means, after several days deliberations, to attach to his interests, and whose favour probably secured his election. From the narration of Jovius it appears, that the cardinal de' Medici was at this time seriously indisposed from an abscess, the breaking of which diffused through the whole conclave, such an intolerable stench, that the cardinals, thinking it impossible that he could long survive, determined

[h] *Conclave di Leone* x. *p.* 177.

[i] *Jovius, in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iii. *p.* 55.

determined to elect him pope;[j] but this story is justly rejected by a more judicious writer,[k] as having arisen from the misrepresentations of those, who have insinuated, that the irregularities of his past life had subjected him to this disorder. It is however certain, that at the time when the cardinal quitted Florence, he was so much indisposed, as to be obliged to be carried by slow stages, in a litter, to Rome, and that on the day after his arrival, a surgeon was admitted into the conclave, who performed an operation on his person, after which the cardinals would not permit the surgeon, notwithstanding his entreaties, to quit the place; but the certainty of this fact, by no means authorises those inferences which some have attempted to draw from it.[l] The real motives of the choice of the college

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j "Fuere qui existimarent vel ob id Seniores ad ferenda "suffragia facilius accessisse, quod pridie disrupto eo ab- "scessu, *qui sedem occuparet*, tanto fœtore ex profluenti "sania totum comitium implevisset, ut tanquam a mortifera "tabe infectus, non diu supervicturus esse vel medicorum "testimonio crederetur." *Jov. in vita Leon* x. *lib.* iii. *p.* 56.

k *Fabron. in vita Leonis* x. *p.* 60.

l "On pretend qu'il n'y eut rien qui contribuât davan- "tage à l'élever à la papauté, que les blessures qu'il avoit "reçues dans les combats vénériens." *Bayle Dict. Hist. in art. Leon.* x. This insinuation is founded by Bayle on the equivocal authority of Varillas, *Anecdotes de Florence*, *lib.* vi. *p.* 235, an author, whose falsehoods and absurdities Bayle

CHAP. X. college may with more candour, and perhaps with more truth, be sought for in the high estimation in which the name of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of the cardinal, was yet held throughout Italy; in the decorum and respectability of his own life and manners, and the remembrance of the services which he had rendered to the church, and the dangers which he had sustained in the defence of her rights. At this important juncture, the cardinal de' Medici is also said to have owed great obligations to Bernardo da Bibbiena, whom he fortunately selected as his conclavist, and who by his

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Bayle has himself on other occasions sufficiently exposed; and on the opinion of Seckendorff. *Comm. de Luth. lib.* i. *sec.* xlvii. *p.* 190. But even the narrative of these authors will not justify the licentious terms in which Bayle has expressed himself on this occasion. This he indeed in some degree confesses, "J' observe que ce n'est que par "*des conséquences qui ne sont pas absolument nécessaires*, "que l'on peut trouver, dans les paroles de M. Varillas, les "sens que j'ai rapporté, & que *M. de Seckendorff leur don-* "*ne*." To which acknowledgment I must further add, that even M. de Seckendorff, although a protestant writer, and particularly hostile to the character of Leo X. has *not given* to the passage of Varillas, the sense for which Bayle contends, but merely informs us, that Leo X. "la- "borabat fœdissimo ulcere in inguine," without attempting to account further for the cause of it. It appears from Jovius to have been an abscess; a disease with which the pontiff was frequently afflicted during the remainder of his life.

his dexterous management, and artful representations, removed the opposition of the cardinal Soderini, brother of the late Gonfaloniere of Florence, and others, who were at first adverse to the elevation of his patron. But whatever were the motives which led to that event, it is, however, on all hands agreed, that his elevation was not disgraced by that shameless traffick, and open prostitution of the favours and emoluments of the church, which had been so usual on similar occasions, and Leo ascended the pontifical throne without any imputation on his character for integrity, even by that propensity to scandal, by which the city of Rome has always been distinguished. The populace would not indeed relinquish their privilege of mingling their satire with their joy on this occasion;[m] but when satire attaches only to slight imperfections, it becomes the surest proof that there are no glaring defects to provoke the severity of animadversion.

In

[m] An instance of this may be found in the interpretation said to have been given to a mutilated inscription in the church of the Vatican, in which the name of Nicholas V. had been obliterated, and the characters of the year only remained, M.CCCC.XL. which it seems were interpreted, in allusion to the defect in the pontiff's sight. MULTI CAECI CARDINALES CREAVERE CAECUM DECIMUM LEONEM. *v. Fabr. Adnot.* 270.

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In assuming the name of Leo X.[n] it has been supposed by some, that the cardinal de' Medici meant to allude to the insignia of his native place, and by others, that he intended to verify the dreams of his mother;[o] but as he was not remarkable for a superstitious adherence to the expiring follies of the age, we may rather assent to those writers, who suppose that he intended to allude to the courage and magnanimity with which he was resolved to execute the high office to which he had been called. It may also be observed, that it had been the custom of many of his predecessors, to adopt appellations of a warlike nature; and after an Alexander and a Julius, the name of Leo, already sanctioned by a long succession of pontiffs, if not dreaded by his enemies, might at least

Reason of his taking the name of Leo X.

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[n] The custom of changing the name of the Roman pontiff is said to have arisen from Sergius II. in the year 844. "Sunt qui Sergium primo quidem *Os porci* appel-"latum fuisse dicant, et ob turpitudinem cognomenti *Sergii* "nomen sumpsisse; eamque consuetudinem ad nostros "manasse; ut qui pontifices crearentur, suorum omisso "majorum nomine, sibi indicent, licet ab omnibus non sit "observatum." *Platina, in vita Sergii.*

[o] "Non defuere qui dicerent, Claricem matrem, pleno "jam utero Leonem ingentis magnitudinis, & miræ leni-"tatis, in Reparatæ templo Florentiæ omnium maximo se "parere, sine gemitu somniasse. Quod postea somnium "ex fabulis nutricum quum puerorum ingeniis inhæsisset, "accipiendo nomini causam haud dubie præbuerit."

Jov. in vita Leon. x. *lib.* iii. *p.* 56.

least seem formidable to his subjects;[p] but it is yet more probable that he was induced to this choice, by the consideration, that all his predecessors of the same name had been eminently distinguished by their virtues, their talents, or their good fortune,[q] and he therefore thought it not unadvisable to

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[p] "*Leonis decimi* nomen sibi desumpsit; utpote qui "propter innatam excelso regioque animo clementiæ virtutem, non expresso quidem titulo, sed erudita allusione "*Magnanimi* cognomentum affectaret; duorum superiorum secutus exemplum, quibus *Alexandri* et *Julii* "augustissima nomina placuissent." *Jov. ut sup.*

[q] This is the opinion of Brandolini, in his Dialogue entitled LEO, *p.* 112. "Neque enim inditum sibi nomen, a "nostra memoria, nedum seculo remotissimum, urbis Florentiæ insignibus, ut vulgus existimat; sed integritati, "mansuetudini, hospitalitati, prudentiæ, liberalitati, quibus quidem animi, atque ingenii dotibus novem reliqui "ejusdem nominis Pontifices fuisse præditi memorantur, "jure optimo tribuendum puto." And this idea is confirmed by Erasmus, who, in one of his letters addressed to Leo X. has briefly enumerated the merits of his predecessors of the same name, "Proinde quidquid virtutum in "singulis *Leonibus* excelluit, id totum expectamus a "LEONE DECIMO. *Primi Leonis* felicem autoritatem; *secundi*, eruditam pietatem et sacræ musices studium; "*tertii*, præter salutarem eloquentiam, animum quoque "ad utramque fortunam infractum; *quarti*, simplicem "illam, et a Christo laudatam, prudentiam; *quinti*, sanctam tolerantiam; *sexti*, pacis ubique sarciendæ studium; "*septimi*,

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to revive a name, which although so celebrated, had not occurred in the annals of the church for more than four centuries.[r]

As the pope, before his elevation, was only a cardinal deacon, it was necessary to admit him into priest's orders; which ceremony was performed on the fifteenth day of March, four days after his election. He was consecrated bishop on the seventeenth, and crowned on the nineteenth of the same month. On this occasion a large platform was erected on the steps of the church of S. Pietro, with columns and a cornice in imitation of marble, on which was inscribed, in letters of gold, LEONI X. PONT. MAX. LITERATORUM PRAESIDIO, AC BONITATIS FAUTORI. On the morning of the day appointed, Leo proceeded to the church of S. Andrea, accompanied by the college of cardinals

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" *septimi*, cælo dignum sanctimonium; *octavi*, integrita-
" tem; *noni*, effusam in omnes benignitatem. Hæc inquam
" omnia nobis promittunt, non solum nominum ipsorum
" haudquaquam contemnenda auguria, verum etiam hæc
" quæ jam abs te præstita videmus, quæ videmus apparari."
" *Erasm. Ep. lib.* ii. *Ep.* 1. This idea is further extended in the Latin poem of Zaccaria Ferreri, of Vicenza, on the elevation of Leo X. *Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital.* iv. 270.

[r] " Nam quatuor Secula cum dimidio et amplius, a
" creatione Leonis IX. tunc lapsa erant." *Brandol. Leo. in not. 74. p.* 112.

nals and dignified ecclesiasticks, where he was habited as a priest for the celebration of mass. Thence he went to the great altar of S. Pietro, preceded by the master of the ceremonies with a reed in each hand, to the summit of one of which was attached a lighted candle, and to the other a bunch of tow. This officer kneeling before the pope, set fire to the tow; at the same time repeating the words, *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi.* Having celebrated his first mass, the pope was conducted to the steps of the church, where the Tiara or triple crown, was placed on his head by the cardinal Farnese and the cardinal of Aragon; after which, having conferred his benediction on all present, he returned to the apostolick palace.

On the coronation of a new pontiff, it is customary for him to grant to the cardinals whatever they may request. Such an unlimited privilege certainly presumes no small share of discretion, in those who avail themselves of it; but on this occasion the well known generosity of the pontiff had raised the hopes of the college beyond all reasonable bounds, and Leo could not avoid expressing his astonishment at the number and nature of the demands which were made upon him. "Take "my Tiara, rather," said he, to the cardinals, smiling, "and then you may agree among your-

"selves

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"selves, as so many popes, to divide things, as "you may think proper."[s]

His predecessor, Julius II. had conducted himself in the publick offices of devotion with great negligence, and had even refused to expose his feet for adoration, in the form of a cross, on Good Friday; for which his master of the ceremonies has assigned a singular, if not a sufficient cause.[t] It had also been observed, that in performing the ceremonial of washing the feet of the poor on Holy Thursday, Julius had only placed his thumbs across, and kissed them. Leo had at least more policy, if not more devotion. He performed the former rite with his feet exposed, and hesitated not to kiss those of the poor; observing at the same time, that this mysterious act of piety, ought not to be evaded by a pretext.[u]

The

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[s] "Potius acciperent suam tiaram, & ipsi Pontifices "facti, concederent aut caperent illud quod volebant." *P. de Grassis MS.* 51. *apt. Not. des MSS. du Roi* ii. 579.

[t] "Quia totus erat ex *morbo gallico* alterosus." *P. de Grass. MS.* 61. *apt Not. des MSS. du Roi* ii. 579.

[u] "Inde ad Aulam ascensum, et pro lotione pedum "pauperum, quæ facta est ad unguem, prout in meo or- "dinario, nisi quod papa non voluit suos digitos pollices "in forma crucis super pedibus pauperum positos osculari, "ut alii pontifices facere consueverant, præsertim Julius "II. sed ipsos pedes totus osculabatur, dicens, quod "illud

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Procession to the Lateran.

The more splendid ceremony of the procession of the pope, to take possession of the Lateran see, was postponed until the eleventh day of April, being the anniversary of the day, on which he had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, and already consecrated in the Roman calendar to S. Leo the great. That the contrast between his past misfortunes and his present prosperity might not be unobserved, he also chose to be mounted during his procession on a favourite white steed, which had born him on that occasion, and which from this day he released from all further service.[v] This spectacle, at all times sufficiently superb, was now rendered much more magnificent, by the desire of the citizens to gratify that predilection for grandeur and for elegance, which the new pontiff was well known to possess.[w] All the nobility then in Rome, with many of the independent sovereigns of Italy, and the ambassadours of

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" illud mysterium non fictè fieri debet." *P. de Grass. MS. inedit.*

[v] *P. de Grass. MS. ap. not. des MSS. du Roi.* ii. 580.

[w] Giovan-Giacomo Penni, a Florentine physician, who was present in Rome on this occasion, has given a very circumstantial account of this splendid ceremonial, which he inscribed to Contessina de' Medici, the wife of Piero Ridolfi, and sister of the pontiff. To this piece, which was printed at Rome in the year 1513, I have been indebted for many of the preceding particulars.

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of most of the European states, contributed to give dignity and importance to the ceremony. Alfonso duke of Ferrara, no longer a rebel to the church, made a journey to Rome to be present on this occasion, and had the honour of assisting the pontiff in mounting his horse. His formidable adversary, Francesco-Maria, duke of Urbino, joined in the same procession, and bore the pontifical standard. The counts of Pitigliano, of Anguillara, of Carpi, and of Camerino, with other subordinate princes, were also present; but the most striking, and perhaps the most pleasing spectacle to the Roman people, was that of the chiefs of the two powerful families, of the Orsini, and the Colonna, whose dissensions had for ages disturbed the repose of the Roman state, accompanying each other in token of perpetual reconciliation. Giulio de' Medici bore the standard of the knights of Rhodes, whose society, however, he from this day abandoned, to devote himself to the more lucrative offices of the church. The streets and squares through which the pontiff had to pass were spread with tapestry, and strewed with flowers; the arms and emblems of the Medici were emblazoned with every variety of ornament; the most beautiful works in painting and sculpture of which the city could boast, or which the ingenuity and talents of the Roman artists could produce, were exultingly displayed; and triumphal arches, with appropriate inscriptions, gave to the whole the appearance rather of the return of a Roman hero

hero from conquest, than of the pacifick procession of an ecclesiastical prince. On the arrival of the pope at the castle of S. Angelo, he was met by the Jews then resident in Rome, who presented to him the volume of their law, and requested the confirmation of their privileges. Receiving from them the book, he opened it and appeared to read; then, letting it suddenly fall, he replied, *we confirm, but we do not assent;* [x] and proceeded on his way. With this state the pontiff arrived, amidst the acclamations of the populace, [y] at the church of S. Giovanni Laterano, at the great door of which was placed, under a portico, a marble chair, to which he was conducted by the prior and canons of the Lateran. Three cardinals then approached, and raised him from his seat, chaunting at the same time, *He raiseth the poor from the dust, &c.* [z] This ceremony, which has given rise to various conjectures, may be considered as intended to represent the inferiority of the former condition of the pontiff, in comparison with his present elevation, as that

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[x] *Confirmamus sed non consentimus. Penni. in Apft. ut sup.*

[y] LEONE, LEONE, PALLE, PALLE, the name of the pontiff, and the arms of the Medici. *Penni in apft.*

[z] *Suscitat de pulvere egenum et de Stercore erigit pauperem. Not. des MSS. du Roi vol.* i. *p.* 179. *v. ante vol.* i. *chap.* iii. *p.* 122.

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that of the burning of the tow on his coronation, is figurative of the instability of worldly grandeur. He then entered the church, and having prostrated himself before the high altar, received the insignia of his dignity. Thence he passed to the chapel of S. Silvestro, where the nobility were admitted to the honour of kissing his feet. To each of the bishops he distributed a silver medal, and to each of the cardinals, two of silver and one of gold. The prelates here congratulated him on his assumption, and, more favoured than his secular attendants, were allowed to kiss his hand. Having rested here for the space of an hour, he was accompanied to the palace, or hall of Constantine, where he took a formal possession of his dominions, and passed the remainder of the day. In the evening he returned to the Vatican, with the same state and attendants with which he had quitted it in the morning. [a]

The opinion which the publick had already formed of the character of the new pontiff, was strongly expressed in the numerous inscriptions, which were displayed on the triumphal arches, and the palaces of eminent individuals. Of these, some

a This event afforded an opportunity for Janus Vitalis of Castello, and other writers of Latin poetry, to celebrate the virtues of the new pontiff, and to express the expectations already formed of his pontificate.

some alluded to his well known love of peace,[b] to the vicissitudes of his former life,[c] to his attention to the encouragement of literature,[d] to the acknowledged decorum of his private life and morals,[e] to the discriminating lenity and moderation which he had already displayed,[f] and to his disposition to promote the publick happiness.[g] Agostino Chisi, a rich merchant, from Siena, and a great promoter of the arts, adopted on this occasion an inscription which refers with some degree of freedom to the preceding pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II.[h]

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[b] LEONI X. PACIS RESTITUTORI FELICISSIMO.

[c] VIRTUTIS ALUMNO FORTUNÆQUE DOMATORI.

[d] LEONI X. PACIS ATQUE ARTIUM LAUDATORI.

[e] VIVE PIE, UT SOLITUS; VIVE DIU, UT MERITUS.

[f] LEO X. PONT. MAX. VINCENDO SEIPSUM OMNIA SUPERAVIT.

SUPPLICES GENEROSE EXAUDIO—IN SUPERBOS IRAM EXERCEO.

[g] VOTA DEUM LEO UT ABSOLVAS HOMINUMQUE SECUNDES.

[h] OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS SUA TEMPORA; TEMPORA MAVORS

OLIM HABUIT; NUNC SUA TEMPORA PALLAS HABET.

CHAP. X.

1513.

Æt. 38.

" Once Venus rul'd; next Mars usurp'd the throne,
" Now Pallas calls these favour'd seats her own."

No sooner had Agostino displayed his device, than Antonio da S. Marano, a goldsmith in his neighbourhood, exhibited an elegant statue of Venus, under which he inscribed, in allusion to the former lines; [i]

" Once Mars prevailed; now Pallas reigns;
" But Venus yet her power retains."

The exultation which took place at Rome on the elevation of Leo X. was most cordially re-echoed from his native city, where the Medici had now gained a complete ascendency, and where even their enemies had relinquished their hostility, in the hopes of obtaining at length that peace and serenity to which they had so long been strangers. [j]

Embassy from Florence.

An embassy of the most respectable inhabitants was despatched, to congratulate the pontiff, and as it became necessary to select some person of rank

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[i] MARS FUIT; EST PALLAS; CYPRIA SEMPER ERO.

[j] Of the singular ingenuity and extraordinary splendour of the exhibitions at Florence on this occasion, a particular account is preserved by Vasari, in his life of Jacopo da Puntormo, *Vite de' Pittori, vol.* ii. *p.* 645. The preparation of these spectacles employed the talents of the first artists, and most distinguished scholars of the time.

rank and learning, to address his holiness, the choice of the citizens fell upon Bernardo Rucellai, who from his elegant historical tracts in the Latin tongue, was justly considered as another Sallust, and from the great authority which he enjoyed among his fellow-citizens, and the near connexion in which he stood to the pope, was regarded as the most proper person for that honourable office. Bernardo, however, declined the task, alleging as a reason the infirm state of his health; but his refusal gave no small displeasure to the citizens of Florence, who suspected that his indisposition was feigned, for the purpose of excusing himself from an undertaking which did not accord with his feelings. Nor is it indeed improbable that this illustrious citizen felt an insuperable reluctance to the expressing his congratulations on an event, which he perhaps foresaw would confirm the subjugation of his country.[k] The office of orator devolved therefore on Pietro Guicciardini, who acquitted himself with distinguished ability; and the reply of the pontiff was admired, not only for its promptitude and elegance, but for its kind and conciliatory tendency, and the assurances which he gave to his countrymen of his paternal care and regard. A deputation soon afterwards arrived from the city of Siena, and the time had been fixed upon for the introduction

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[k] *v. Life of Lor. de' Med. vol.* ii. *p.* 152, *note (c)*

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introduction of the delegates to the pope. The cardinals were already met, but the delegates not making their appearance, several messengers were despatched to hasten them. Arriving at length, they apologized for their delay, by alleging that they were Sienese, and followed the customs of Siena.[1] Their publick orator Giovan Antonio Saraceno, then began a tiresome and absurd oration, to which Leo replied, in so appropriate and jocular a style, as to delight his attendants, without offending even the deputies themselves. In fact the pontiff possessed in an eminent degree, that versatility of talent, which accommodates itself to every occasion, and that discretion which points out the proper season to make use of it. As many other ambassadours were expected from the different states of Christendom, Leo inquired from his master of the ceremonies, whether he ought on all occasions to reply in person, or whether he might not with propriety delegate the task to another. From the researches made by that officer on this important subject, it appeared, that Pius II. (Eneas Sylvius) was the first pontiff who had set the example of always answering for himself on publick occasions. Paul II. was desirous of continuing this

[1] "Se esse Senenses & more Senensi fecisse," which some of the lively attendants on the pontiff interpreted, "Se esse fatuos et more fatuo fecisse."

Par. de Grass. Diar. apud. Fabron. in vitâ Leon. note 24.

this custom, but his memory frequently betrayed him. Sixtus IV. always spoke in person, and acquitted himself with credit. Innocent VIII. never attempted to deliver his sentiments in publick. Whenever Julius II. was expected to make a reply, he pretended to be suddenly taken ill, and to be deprived of all memory, insomuch, that it became necessary for his master of the ceremonies to rouse him, as it were, from the dead, and to remind him of what was passing before him. The result of these inquiries was, that in a first audience it would be proper for the pope himself to reply, but in few words, and that his secretary should be ready, if it became necessary, to enter more fully into the subject. It was afterwards settled, that the pope in replying to a sovereign prince, should speak for himself, but that in replying to an ambassadour, he might employ a substitute. [m]

Leo pardons the conspirators at Florence.

A very favourable opportunity of manifesting those virtues, for which he had already been so highly commended, was afforded to the new pontiff by the affairs of Florence, where the magistrates, after his departure for Rome, had proceeded in examining into the conspiracy of Boscoli and Capponi, and after having obtained from those two leaders a confession of their crimes, had sentenced them

[m] *Par. de Gresss. Diar. ah. Not. des. MSS. du Roi. v.* ii. *p.* 581.

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them to decapitation. Of the other conspirators, Nicolo Machiavelli had been remanded into custody at Florence, and Nicolo Valori and Giovanni Folchi, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the tower of Volterra. The crime of Valori consisted merely in having heard one of the conspirators give some indication of his intentions, without having revealed it to the magistrates;[n] and in such a light was this offence considered, that had not the powerful influence of his nephew, Bartolommeo Valori, a zealous partisan of the Medici, been exerted in his favour, the historian of Lorenzo, the father of the pontiff, would in all probability have forfeited his life. No sooner, however, was Leo seated in the pontifical chair, than his interference obtained the liberation of the prisoners; and it was conjectured that his pardon would also have been extended to the principals, had not the severity of the Florentine magistrates prevented it by ordering them to execution immediately after the sentence was pronounced.[o] The conduct of Leo X. towards the family of Soderini was calculated

[n] On this occasion, one of the Florentine historians makes a homely, but striking remark, "Tanto è odioso a' "governatori il poco fallire d'un delinquenti, quanto al naso "d'un troppo delicato padrone, il puzzo del fiato del servi- "dore che abbia mangiato uno sol spicchio, come uno in- "tero capo d' aglio." *Nardi. Hist. Fior. p.* 160.

[o] *Nerli, Comment. di Fir. lib.* vi. *p.* 123.

lated still more to increase his reputation for clemency and generosity. He well remembered his paternal maxim, that "to convert an enemy into "a friend, is not less consistent with sound policy, "than with true humanity." Among the members of the college, the first whom he singled out as the object of his particular kindness, was the cardinal Francesco Soderini, the brother of Pietro Soderini, the exiled gonfaloniere of Florence. On the invitation of the pope, Pietro hastened to Rome, where he met not only with protection, but favour, and where he passed the remainder of his days in an honourable independence, still retaining the title of gonfaloniere. Nor did Leo hesitate to cement the connexion between this powerful family and his own, by the ties of affinity; and a marriage was soon afterwards celebrated between Luigi, the son of Piero Ridolfi, by his wife Contessina, the sister of the pontiff, and a niece of the gonfaloniere.

Recalls Soderini.

Nor was the liberality of Leo confined merely to the forgiveness of injuries. The character which he had for many years sustained, as the promoter of letters and of arts, had occasioned a general expectation, that on his being raised to the supreme dignity, and obtaining the direction of the treasures and emoluments of the Roman see, it would be impossible for genius, worth, and talents, to remain unnoticed or unrewarded. Before he quitted the conclave on his election, he had nominated as his pontifical secretaries, Pietro Bembo and

Appoints Bembo and Sadoleti his secretaries.

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and Jacopo Sadoleti, who were then in Rome, and were justly esteemed two of the first scholars of the age. The appointment, to such a confidential situation, of two men who had not risen by the indirect means of ecclesiastical intrigue, and were only known by their talents and their acquirements, gave additional hopes of that patronage to science, to literature, and the arts, which was shortly afterwards so effectually realized. [p] Under these impressions, Rome became at once the general resort of those who possessed, or had pretensions to superiour learning, industry, or ability; all of whom took it for granted, that the supreme pontiff had now no other objects of attention, than to listen to their representations, to admire their productions, and to reward their labours. If their expectations were not immediately fulfilled, it may, in justice to the character of the new pontiff, be observed, that upon his elevation to his high office, his first attention was turned to objects of yet greater importance, and more suited to his dignity. From the

Leo resolves to establish the peace of Europe.

[p] "Soleo enim quotiescumque in sermonem incido de "Leone X. illud frequenter usurpare; ex omnibus rebus "quas ille pontificatu suo gessit amplissimas, nullam ma- "jore laude ac predicatione dignam extitisse, quam quod "Petrum Bembum & Jacobum Sadoletum duo illa eloquen- "tiæ lumina, sibi a secretis asciverit."

Hier. Niger, Ep. ad Paul. Rhamnus. in Ep. Sadolet. Apfi. p. 138.

the elevated station in which he was placed, he took a comprehensive view of the whole extent of Europe; resolved, as far as lay in his power, to terminate the disgraceful contests that subsisted among the Christian princes, and to exercise his authority, as head of the Christian church, in promoting the repose and happiness of those whom he considered as committed to his care. Even before his coronation, he addressed a letter to Sigismond, king of Poland, who was then meditating a formidable attack upon Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, entreating him to suspend hostilities until a legate should arrive from Rome, who might endeavour to reconcile their dissensions, without having recourse to the sword. In this letter he avows his intention of labouring to maintain the repose of Europe, for which purpose, he had resolved to send as his legates, to every nation, men of high rank and authority; [q] and expresses his strong sense of the folly and wickedness of those destructive quarrels which had so long disgraced and depopulated the Christian world. [r]

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At

[q] "Decrevi enim meos legatos, magnos viros, ad plurimas quamprimum nationes mittere," &c. *Bembi, Epist. nom. Leon.* x. *lib.* i. *Ep.* v. *ante coronationem.*

[r] The conciliatory disposition evinced by the pontiff, in the commencement of his pontificate, is pointedly referred to by Guido Postumo, in his elegiack address to the *Manes* of Alexander VI. and Julius II.

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At this time, the expulsion of the French from Italy had given a momentary repose to that unhappy country, and the union, formed by Julius II. between the emperour elect Maximilian, the kings of Aragon, and of England, the Venetians, and the church, by which that event had been accomplished, seemed to secure the general tranquillity. Louis XII. was, however, too ambitious, and too powerful a prince, to suffer himself to be deterred from the prosecution of his claims on the dutchy of Milan, by the unfortunate events which had conspired to frustrate the acknowledged successes of his arms; and at the very time when Leo assumed the pontifical chair, that monarch was exerting all his influence to compose the dissensions which subsisted between himself and Henry VIII. of England, and to terminate the disputes in which he was involved with the emperour elect, that he might be enabled to devote his attention and resources towards this, his favourite object. Unsuccessful in these negotiations, he endeavoured to obviate the opposition which he had hitherto experienced from the holy see. The death of Julius II. who had been the soul of the league, had released him from an implacable enemy, and afforded him hopes that his successour might be more favourable to his views; and these hopes were, perhaps, encouraged by a declaration which the pope had taken occasion to make, "that he would "not attempt any thing against the French mo-"narch.

Louis XII. intends to attack the Milanese.

"narch."[s] With these expectations Louis XII. addressed himself to Giuliano de' Medici, then at Florence, professing the most earnest desire of promoting his interest, and his joy on the elevation of his brother to the pontifical throne. At the same time he expressed his hopes, that the pope would not oppose his designs upon Milan; in which case he would not pursue his conquests further, and would make Leo himself the arbiter of the terms of peace.[t] These proposals were immediately forwarded to Rome by Giuliano, who, attentive rather to the personal obligations which during his exile he had contracted to Louis XII. and to the promises contained in his letters, than to the political consequences of the measure, earnestly entreated the pontiff to enter into the proposed alliance. The reply of the pope to his brother, which was doubtless intended to be communicated to Louis XII. whilst it further manifests his earnest wishes to maintain the repose of Italy, indisputably proves, that he was well aware of the ambitious projects of the king, and was by no means inclined to promote them. Louis was not, however, to be deterred by the coldness, or the enmity of the pope; who, notwithstanding the con-

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[s] "Se nolle aliquid contra regem Franciæ attentare." *Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Not. & Extr. des. MSS. du Roi*, ii. 580.

[t] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *v.* ii. *p.* 36.

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conciliatory tenour of his letter, had made no offer to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by Julius II. He therefore redoubled his exertions with the other parties to the league, and at length prevailed upon Ferdinand of Aragon to agree to a cessation of arms for one year. The king of England, and the emperour elect, were also introduced as contracting parties in this treaty; but circumstances occurred which effectually prevented their assenting to it.[u]

Treaty of Blois.

The efforts of Louis XII. to engage the Venetians in his interests were, however, more decidedly successful. By a versatility, which in other times would have appeared extraordinary, these republicans deserted their allies, who had saved them from destruction, and entered into a treaty with the king, for assisting him in the recovery of Milan, and for asserting the limits of their respective territories. This treaty was concluded at Blois, on the thirteenth day of March, and was subscribed on the part

[u] This treaty, which bears date the 1st. of April, 1513, is given in Rymer. *Fœdera.* vi. *par.* i. *p.* 40. The names of the king of England, and of the emperour elect, were inserted wholly without their knowledge, and it must have appeared as Guicciardini observes, highly ridiculous, that on the very day that it was published in Spain, a herald arrived from Henry VIII. to annouce his hostile preparations against France, and to require the assistance of Ferdinand, under his prior engagement for that purpose.

Guicciard. lib. xi. *vol.* ii. *p.* 34.

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part of the senate, by Andrea Gritti, who had been carried a prisoner into France. It purported to be an offensive and defensive league between the contracting powers. The Cremonese, with the district of Ghiaradadda, were to be annexed to the state of Milan; but the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, were again to submit to the authority of the senate.[v] Among the Italian prisoners in France, who were now restored to liberty, was Bartolommeo d'Alviano,[w] who immediately repaired to Venice, to justify himself from the imputations under which he laboured, on account of the unfortunate battle of Ghiaradadda, the loss of which he attributed to the misconduct of the count of Pitigliano. The dead warriour could not refute the charge, and d'Alviano was again appointed to the chief command of the Venetian troops.

The preparations making by Louis XII. and the Venetian states, were observed by Leo X. with the greatest anxiety. Besides his uniform desire of

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[v] This treaty, called the treaty of Blois, was confirmed at Venice, on the 11th of April, 1513. It is given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplomat.* ii. 2005, and in the collection of Dumont, *vol.* iv. *par.* i. *pt.* 182.

[w] Leo, not being yet apprized of the motive of the king in restoring d'Alviano to liberty, wrote to him in commendation of his generosity towards this celebrated commander, of whom he expresses himself in terms of high approbation and esteem.

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of maintaining the publick tranquillity, various motives concurred in rendering these proceedings highly obnoxious to him. By the first visit of the French into Italy, he and his family had been expelled from their native place, and compelled to wander as fugitives for the long space of eighteen years. The adherence of the Florentines to the interests of France, during this period, had given rise to a spirit of party, by which the cause of the French, and that of the Medici, were habitually regarded as hostile to each other. Nor could Leo so soon forget the unfortunate day of Ravenna, when he was made a prisoner by the French arms, and was indebted for his liberty, not to the generosity of his conquerors, but to his own good fortune. To these personal motives of opposition, might be added, the apprehensions entertained by the pope, that by the success of the French in Milan, the Roman see would again be devested of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, which after having been added by the vigilance of Julius II. to the dominions of the church, were immediately on the death of that pontiff restored by the viceroy Cardona to the duke of Milan, and by him again surrendered to Leo X. For these reasons, Leo determined to exert all the means in his power, either to prevent the expedition of the king, or to frustrate its success. On the first rumour of the treaty of Blois, he despatched a messenger to his legate, Pietro da Bibbiena, directing him to express to the Venetian senate his confidence, that they

Leo endeavours to dissuade Louis XII. from attacking Milan.

they would not engage in any measure of import- CHAP.
ance without first consulting him as their ally. X.
He also addressed himself by letter to Louis XII. 1513.
who had communicated to him the terms of the Æt. 38.
treaty concluded with Ferdinand of Aragon; assuring him that nothing could be more agreeable to his disposition, than to see the princes of Christendom united in bonds of amity, but expressing at the same time his regret, that the French monarch had avowed his intention of again attacking the state of Milan. He justly reminds him, that instead of relinquishing hostilities, this is only transferring his arms to another object; and earnestly exhorts him not to interrupt again the repose of Italy; but to spare that unhappy country a repetition of those calamities, which she had experienced for such a series of years. This letter the pontiff despatched by a confidential servant named Cinthio, the object of whose mission has been grossly misrepresented by some authors; who conceive, that they are displaying their own talents, in accounting for the conduct of others, by attributing it to indirect and culpable motives.[x]

Con-

[x] Guicciardini only informs us, that the pope sent to the king "*Cinthio*, suo familiare, con una lettera con *umane* "*commessioni*, ma tanto generali che arguivano non avere "l'animo inclinato a lui." *lib.* xi. *v.* ii. *p.* 37. which sufficiently agrees with the tenour of the letter as yet preserved. But the author of the *Ligue de Cambray*, informs us, that the

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Opposes Louis XII. and forms the treaty of Mechlin.

Confiding however but little in these representations, Leo had already begun to adopt such measures, as he thought would be most effectual, for preserving Italy from another conflagration. To this end, he had endeavoured to prevail upon the emperour elect, Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Aragon, to unite with him in a general opposition to the French king. The cold and deliberating policy of Ferdinand, and the weak and versatile temper of Maximilian, might have frustrated the hopes of the pontiff; but their reluctance, or inability, was amply compensated by the introduction of another ally, whose youth, disposition, and resources, were well calculated to render him an object of alarm to the French monarch. This was Henry VIII. of England, who had succeeded to the

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the envoy of the pope, "assura le Roi de la part du pape, "que sa Sainteté etoit l'héritier des sentiments respec- "tueux de la maison de Médicis pour la couronne de "France; que son pére Laurent n'avoit eu, ni plus d'in- "clination, ni plus de vénération, que lui, pour les Rois "tres Chrêtiens; mais que Pape depuis un mois, *il ne* "*pouvoit pas rompre en un jour les engagements solemnels* "*où son predecesseur avoit jetté le Saint Siege. Que son* "*intention etoit bien de changer de parti, et de se ranger du* "*côté du Roi; mais qu'une pareille révolution etoit un* "*ouvrage de longue haleine pour un Souverain électif, &c.*" *Ligue de Camb. liv.* iv. *tom.* ii. 284. If Leo had not more honesty, he had certainly more good sense, than to disgrace himself by language of this nature; which can only serve to amuse those who read history as a romance.

the crown in the year 1509, and being now in the vigour of life, burnt with an ambitious desire of emulating the conquests of his ancestors, by a descent upon France. The immense wealth accumulated by his predecessors, and which he retained to his own use, whilst he sacrificed to the popular fury the unhappy wretches who had been the instruments of extorting it, enabled him not only to raise a powerful army, but to subsidize his continental allies; and the spirit of the people, recovering from its state of inactive torpor, earnestly sought for an opportunity of exertion and of danger. Under these circumstances, the pope, who had already endeavoured to secure the favour and friendship of Henry,[y] found no great difficulty in engaging him to unite with the emperour elect, the king of Aragon, and himself, in a league against France, which was concluded and signed at Mechlin, then the residence of the archdutchess Margaret of Austria, on the fifth day of April, 1513, and by which they agreed to unite together for the defence of the church, and to attack the kingdom of France within two months, in such provinces as are particularly specified in the treaty. As the emperour elect could only be induced to lend his name to this alliance by a considerable bribe, Henry undertook to pay him one hundred thousand

y See the letter from Leo X. to Henry VIII. at the end of the volume, Note C.

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sand crowns; thirty-five thousand of which were to be paid within one month after Maximilian declared war against Louis XII. as much more when he appeared, by himself or his commanders, in actual arms against him, and the remainder within three months from the commencement of the war.[z] The English historians have considered Henry as the dupe of his pretended allies in this transaction; and it is certain, that Ferdinand of Aragon carefully concealed from him the truce which he had lately entered into for a year with Louis XII. and which he intended either to adhere to, or to violate, as might best suit his future views.[a]

Leo subsidizes the Swiss.

The efforts thus made by Leo X. for the defence of Milan, were but ill seconded by Maximilian Sforza, who inherited not either the warlike spirit, or the political sagacity by which many of his ancestors had been distinguished.[b] Neither endowed by nature, nor supplied by education, with those qualities which might attach the affection, or command the respect of his subjects, he was unfortunately placed in a situation in which his publick measures

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z *v. Appunctuamenta cum Leone papa, pro defensione Ecclesiæ. Rymer. Fœdera, vol.* vi. *par.* i. *p.* 41. *Dumont Corps Diplomatique, vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 173.

a *Rapin, book* xv. *v.* i. *p.* 720.

b *Campo. Cremona fedelissima, p.* 104.

measures required a degree of indulgence, seldom conceded without murmurs, even to the most favourite rulers. In order to gratify the Swiss mercenaries, by whose aid he had been raised to the chief authority, he had been obliged to have recourse to oppressive taxations; and the dissatisfaction to which these gave rise, was increased by the measures necessary to be adopted for the defence of his dominions. Disgusted with their new sovereign, whose personal appearance too well corresponded with the imbecility of his mind, the inhabitants of Milan looked with a favourable eye towards the approaching contest. The presence and activity of Prospero Colonna, whom Leo had despatched to the assistance of the duke, compensated, however, in a great degree for his defects; but the principal reliance of the pontiff was on the courage of a large body of Swiss mercenaries, whose friendship and support he had effectually secured, by continuing to them the stipends agreed to be paid by Julius II. Of these auxiliaries, five thousand had already made their appearance in the district of Tortona, where they expected to be joined by the viceroy Cardona, at the head of the Spanish troops. In this they were, however, disappointed; the Spanish general having, under various pretexts, kept aloof from the probable scene of action. The Swiss, not discouraged by the indecision of their supposed ally, and expecting numerous reenforcements of their own countrymen, hesitated not to take upon themselves the defence

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defence of the Milanese; and Maximilian Sforza, quitting his capital, raised his standard in the midst of them, and prepared to repel the threatened invasion. [c]

Louis XII. attacks the states of Milan.

The French army designed for this expedition, consisting of fifteen hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horse, and fourteen thousand foot, among whom were the celebrated *bandes noires*,[d] was commanded by the duke de la Tremouille, assisted by the Italian general Gian Giacopo Trivulzio, marshal of France. Descending from Susa into Lombardy, these commanders possessed themselves, without opposition, of Asti and of Alessandria. The adherents of the French in Milan, availing themselves of the absence of the duke, again avowed their partiality to Louis XII. and introduced into the citadel, which was yet held by a French garrison, additional troops and plentiful supplies of provisions. About the same time, the French fleet arrived before Genoa, where a popular commotion also took place, and the Milanese governour, Gian Fregoso, with difficulty effected his escape. Whilst the arms of Louis XII. were thus successful, both by sea and land, his allies, the

[c] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *v.* ii. *fi.* 39.

[d] *Ligue de Cambray*, ii. 283. *Murat. Annal. d'Italia*, x. 95.

the Venetians, were not inactive.[e] Bartolommeo d'Alviano, at the head of a well appointed army of twelve thousand men, attacked the city of Cremona, from which he expelled the Milanese general, Cesare Fieramosca, and reenforced the citadel, which was still in the hands of the French. Bergamo soon opened her gates, and raised the banner of St. Mark; Brescia followed the example; and the Spaniards, who had occupied that city, were compelled to take shelter in the castle. Every thing, in short, announced the sudden and favourable termination of a war, begun, on the part of the assailants, with equal unanimity, vigour, and success.

Battle of Novara.

In the mean time, Leo, on whose assistance the duke of Milan principally relied for his defence against these powerful adversaries, was not idle. He could not, indeed, send to his aid a military force equal to the urgency of the occasion; but he immediately despatched Girolamo Morone, the Milanese envoy at the Roman court, with forty-two thousand ducats, as the arrears of the stipend due to the Swiss, for the protection so faithfully and effectually offered by them to the church and her allies.[f] The viceroy, Cardona, who had probably received

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[e] *Murat. Annali d' Itali.* xi. 96.

[f] *Guicciard. lib.* x. *v.* ii. *fi.* 39.

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received directions from his master not to infringe the truce, so lately entered into by him for one year, with Louis XII. had quitted his encampment on the Trebbia, to return to Naples, and leave the Milanese to its fate; but the intelligence of this timely supply of money, and of the arrival of a large additional body of Swiss troops, induced him to change his purpose, and return to his former station. The whole of the Milanese was now in the possession of the French, except Como and Novara, which still retained their allegiance to the duke; who had retired to the latter of these places, accompanied by his Swiss auxiliaries. His sensations could not, however, be of the most agreeable kind, when he recollected, that at this very place his father had, a few years before, been betrayed, by the same people in whom he now confided, to the marshal Trivulzio, the very man who was now pressing forward to besiege the place; and it is averred, that Trivulzio was, in fact, so confident of a similar event, that he wrote to Louis XII. assuring him that he would deliver up this duke into his hands, as he had before done his predecessor; an assurance which led to a conjecture, that he had also employed the same means for that purpose.[g] Elated with their success,

[g] Even the author of the *Ligue de Cambray*, though always jealous of the honour of his countrymen, admits that the French commander Tremouille, "avoit une pra-"tique," with the Swiss. *liv.* iv. *v.* ii. *p.* 299.

cess, the French forces commenced the siege of Novara, which they attacked with a formidable train of artillery. On the other hand, the Swiss, although as yet much inferiour in number, were so far from betraying any symptoms of apprehension, that they threw open the gates, and afforded their adversaries an opportunity of entering the place, of which they did not choose to avail themselves. At this critical juncture, another large body of Swiss arrived, and approached the besieged city, the information of which circumstance no sooner reached the French commander, than he retired from before the place, and encamped at the Riotta, about two miles distant. The Swiss reenforcements, under the command of their general Mottino, entered the town of Novara, and on a deliberation, which immediately took place among the leaders, it was resolved to proceed to the attack of the French, without waiting for the arrival of the baron of Halle Saxony, their commander in chief, who was shortly expected with an additional body of troops. Soon after midnight, on the sixth day of June, 1513, the Swiss troops accordingly quitted the city. Without artillery, without cavalry, and greatly inferiour in numbers, they furiously assaulted the French in their intrenchments, before break of day. Though not prepared for instantaneous action, the French had not been inattentive to their defence, and an engagement ensued, which was supported on both sides with equal courage, for several hours. The artillery of the French being

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being brought to bear upon the assailants, thinned their numbers, and disordered their line; but nothing could resist the impetuosity and courage of the Swiss, who conceiving themselves to be contending for glory with the German mercenaries in the pay of the French king, repeated their attack with fresh ardour, until at length they possessed themselves of the artillery, and turned it against its former masters. This event effectually decided the fortune of the day. The rout of the French became general. The cavalry led the way in the retreat. All the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the conquerors. It was expected that the French would have rallied their troops in Piedmont, and returned again to the charge; but notwithstanding the remonstrances of Trivulzio, they again crossed the Alps, leaving their conquests in Milan, and their allies, the Venetians, to the mercy of their enemies. The Swiss returned in triumph to Novara, elated with a victory which may be compared, with regard to the magnanimity of the attempt, the courage of its execution, and its decisive consequences, with any action in the records of either ancient or modern times. [h]

Brilliant

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[h] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *Ligue de Cambr.* ii. 300, *&c.* The latter author has laboured to throw the ignominy of this defeat on the Italian leader Trivulzio, but the reasons which he adduces are by no means satisfactory.

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Brilliant, however, as was the success of the Swiss on this occasion, it was not obtained without great sacrifices. Of ten thousand men who left Novara, about one half were left dead on the field, among whom was their gallant commander Mottino; but the loss of the French was still greater, and has been estimated by the joint consent of the French and Italian historians, at eight thousand men. These historians, although discordant in many other points, respecting this remarkable contest, have joined in commemorating a noble instance of heroick courage and paternal affection in Robert de la Marck; who at the head of a body of cavalry, pierced through the Swiss ranks, and liberated his two sons who had been wounded and made prisoners. The apology of the French writers for the loss of this memorable day is, that their cavalry, from the situation of the place, or the misconduct of Trivulzio, could not be brought into action; but if the love of glory had been as powerful in them, as the love of his children in Robert de la Marck, it is evident that the difficulties of their position would have been readily surmounted.

Robert de la Marck.

Leo recommends lenient measures to the conquerors.

As this signal victory, and the consequent expulsion of the French from Milan, were wholly to be attributed to the Swiss, who had been engaged in the cause by the precaution and liberality of Leo X. these events reflected great honour on that pontiff. His apprehensions from the irruption of the French being now removed, he did not hesi-

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tate to express to his brave auxiliaries in a publick letter, the satisfaction which he had received from their services. In this letter he professes to lament, no less from the humanity of his own disposition, than from his duty as the common parent of Christendom, the dreadful slaughter which had taken place; but he rejoices, that they who had vexed the spouse of God, and attempted to rend that garment not made by hands, and by which they had subjected themselves to the anathema of the church, had received the just reward of their demerits. He then avows his high regard for his courageous allies, entreating them not to credit the representations of those who insinuate, that as soon as peace shall be restored, he shall disregard their favour and their services, and assuring them, that as long as they may choose to continue their alliance with him, he will strictly adhere to its stipulations. On the same occasion, he addressed a congratulatory letter to Maximilian duke of Milan, in which he admonishes him not only to return due thanks to God for so signal an interposition in his favour, but to show himself worthy of it by his future conduct. "This," says he, "will be most "effectually done, by your not allowing yourself "to be too much elated with your success, and "by your avoiding to prosecute or destroy those "who have been induced to oppose you. Let me "therefore most earnestly entreat you, by the "affection which I bear you, to deal kindly with "them; and if any have erred (as has perhaps been

" been the case with many) to consider them rather " as objects of pardon than of resentment. By " these means you will conciliate the minds of " those who have been alienated from you, without " incurring any diminution of your authority; and " I trust you will therefore make a moderate and " lenient use of your victory." To the same effect Leo also wrote to the viceroy Cardona, requesting him to interpose his kind offices with Maximilian, " to prevent his treating with severity " any of his subjects, and to represent to him, " that as on the one hand there was nothing more " becoming a prince than placability, lenity, and " compassion; so on the contrary there was no- " thing more detestable than cruelty, wrath and " resentment." As the enforcing these truly wise and generous maxims is the chief topick of the letters referred to, we may justly conclude, that the pontiff sincerely felt the humane sentiments which he has there expressed; and this opinion is indeed confirmed by several subsequent letters, in which he exhorts the conquerors not to treat with severity the neighbouring and subordinate sovereigns, who had been obliged to espouse the cause of the French, and especially recommends to their lenity the family of Pallavicini, and William, marquis of Montferrat.[i]

The

[i] *Bemb. Epist. nom. Leon.* x. *lib.* iii. *Ep.* 3, 4.

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Expulsion of the French from Italy.

The Venetian general d'Alviano had, prior to the battle of Novara, advanced as far as Lodi, intending to join the French; but Cardona, although he had before shown no great alacrity, interposed on this occasion to prevent this junction.[j] No sooner was the event of that contest known, than d'Alviano, abandoning his former intention, demolished the bridge on the Adda, and retreated to Padua, where he strongly fortified himself. The inhabitants of Milan, thus decidedly left to the mercy of their sovereign, sent deputies to entreat his forgiveness, and in order to prove the sincerity of their contrition, they put to the sword all the French in Milan, excepting only a few who had the good fortune to obtain shelter in the citadel, which was still held by their countrymen. The other cities of the Milanese adopted a similar measure, and three hundred Gascons, who remained in Pavia, fell a sacrifice to the cowardice and the fears, rather than to the resentment of the populace. The city of Genoa yet acknowledged the authority of Louis XII. but Cardona, desirous of making reparation for his apparent inactivity, despatched Ferdinando Davalos, marquis of Pescara, at the head of four hundred horse, and three thousand foot, with which he possessed himself of the place; and having expelled Antoniello Adorno, the

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j *Murator. Annali d'Ital. v.* x. *p.* 98. *&c.*

the French governour, appointed to the office of Doge, Ottaviano Fregoso, who had accompanied him on this expedition, and who liberally rewarded his services by a heavy contribution raised from the inhabitants.

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Whilst these transactions occurred in Italy, Henry VIII. in strict performance of the treaty of Mechlin, passed, in the month of June 1513, over to Calais, with a powerful body of troops. The earl of Shrewsbury, who had preceded him, had already effected a landing, and laid siege to Terouenne. Henry expected to have been joined, according to the terms of the treaty, by a strong reenforcement from the emperour elect Maximilian; but that mean and crafty sovereign, in order to entitle himself to the payment of the subsidy, which Henry had agreed to advance on his appearing in arms against the French king, came in person to the English camp, and offered his services to Henry as a volunteer in his army. The pride of the English monarch was gratified, in having an emperour in his service. He assigned to him a subordinate command in the British army, and Maximilian thought it no disgrace to receive under the name of his wages, one hundred crowns per day.[k]

Henry VIII. invades France.

The

[k] *Rapin's Hist. book* xv. i. 722.

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The approach of the French army, under the command of the duke de Longueville, to the relief of Terouenne, brought on the memorable engagement of Guingaste, usually called the battle of the spurs, from its having been said, that the French made more use of those implements, than of their swords on that occasion.[l] The consequent fall of Terouenne, was soon followed by that of the important city of Tournay. The former of these places Henry gave to Maximilian, who razed its foundations, and Terouenne has since been blotted from the map of Europe. The latter he retained under his own authority, but as the bishoprick was then vacant, he conferred it, with its episcopal revenues, which amounted to a considerable sum, on his new favourite, Wolsey, who had attended him on this expedition.[m]

Battle of the spurs.

Whilst Henry was thus carrying his victorious arms into France, he received information of the most alarming nature, respecting the safety of his own dominions. James IV. of Scotland, who had married

The king of Scotland attacks England.

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l *August* 16, 1513. *Rapin's Hist. book* xv. i. 722. *Hume, chap.* xxvii.

m The manner in which the intelligence of this victory was received at the court of Rome, appears, by a letter from the cardinal of York, to Henry VIII. *v.* note D. at the end of the volume.

married Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII.[n] availing himself of the absence of his brother-in-law, and prevailed upon by the representations of the French envoy, to unite his arms with those of Louis XII. assembled an army which has been said to have consisted of one hundred thousand men, but which probably was composed of somewhat more than half that number. He then sent a herald to Henry, to acquaint him with the reasons of his hostile preparations, the chief of which was to compel him to relinquish the war with France. The answer of Henry, written before Terouenne, was a defiance and a threat.[o] He informed him, that he was not surprised to find him breaking the treaty between them upon frivolous pretences, since he thereby imitated the example of his ancestors. He upbraided James, that whilst he knew him to be in England, he had never avowed an intention of espousing the cause of France, but had waited for his absence to carry his treacherous purpose into execution. He assured him, however, that being perfectly aware of his character, he had taken such measures before his departure for the defence of

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[n] It was on the occasion of this marriage, which finally produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms, that Dunbar wrote his celebrated poem of *the Thistle and the Rose*. *v. Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, ii. 257.

[o] *Rapin's Hist. book* xv. i. 724.

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of his kingdom, as he did not doubt, would, with the help of God, frustrate the endeavours of all schismaticks, excommunicated by the pope and the council of the Lateran. James did not, however, wait for this answer; but entering Northumberland, in the month of August, 1513, possessed himself of several places of strength. The earl of Surrey, then in Yorkshire, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, marched to oppose his progress, and the contest was decided on the ninth day of September, by the memorable battle of Flodden, in which the flower of the Scottish nobility, and many dignified ecclesiasticks, with eight or ten thousand soldiers, lost their lives.[p] The loss of the English on this occasion, was upwards of five thousand men, but among them were few persons of distinction. James IV. was never seen after the battle. The English supposed they had found his body amidst a heap of slain;[q] and although the Scots

Battle of Flodden.

[p] On the part of the Scots, there fell, besides the king, an archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen barons, with eight or ten thousand common soldiers. *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry* VIII. *p.* 18.

[q] His body was inclosed in a coffin of lead, and conveyed to London; but as James died excommunicate, it could not be buried without a dispensation from the pope, which, at the request of Henry VIII. Leo granted, under the pretext, that James had, in his last moments, shown some signs of contrition, such as his circumstances would admit of. *Rymer. Fœdera, vol.* vi. *par.* i. *p.* 53.

Scots denied it, yet they were never afterwards able to discover their unfortunate monarch. The intelligence of these important successes no sooner arrived at Rome, than Leo addressed the following letter to Henry VIII. who yet remained in France.

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Leo X. to Henry VIII. King of England.

Congratulatory letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII.

" The perusal of your letters, in which you " inform me of your victory over the French, and " your conquests in that kingdom, have afforded " me great pleasure; as well on account of my " paternal kindness for you, as from the importance " of your achievements. I give thanks to God, " that he has favoured the exertions of those who " have taken up arms for the pious and com- " mendable purpose of supporting the cause of his " church. It is true, I had previously considered " as certain, the event which has now occurred; " for when I knew, that in preparing for this " attack, you had the advantages of prudent coun- " cils, immense wealth, and numerous and cou- " rageous troops; that you had also the advice " of the emperour elect, Maximilian, and above " all, that you were engaged in defending the " cause of God, I had sufficient reason to hope for " that success which has attended your arms. But " whilst I was expressing my joy on this occasion " to your ambassadours, and intended to congra- " tulate you upon such an event, I received your " further letters, informing me of another, and a

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" much more important victory obtained over " James, king of Scotland; who having attempt- " ed to invade your dominions, has been defeated " with the loss of his life, and that of many of his " nobility, and the slaughter or captivity of a great " part of his troops. Thus a few days have deci- " ded a most cruel and dangerous war. On re- " ceiving this information, although it was certainly " very painful to me to hear of such an effusion of " christian blood, the destruction of so many " thousands of the people of our common Lord, " and the death of a christian king of great fame, " and undoubted courage, the husband of your " sister, who has fallen under the sword of a chris- " tian king, so nearly allied to him; yet I could " not but rejoice in this victory over an enemy, " who sought to deter you from the prosecution of " the commendable cause in which you are now " engaged. On this account, I have already, on " my knees, offered up my thanks to God, who " has thus crowned your arms with a double vic- " tory, and laid the foundation of that future glory " which you have so well begun, in undertaking " at so early a period of life the defence of his " church. On your part, it will be proper that " you should reflect, that all this is his gift, and " not the result of human aid. Nor will he refuse " to recompense your virtues with much greater " honours and rewards, provided that you acknow- " ledge your dependence upon him, with that " humility which such an occasion requires. If

" this

" this be done, it is not only highly probable that
" the contest in which you are now engaged will
" have a happy termination, but that he will also
" in future prepare the way through which you
" may pass, and by great achievements consecrate
" your name to immortality. This event will take
" place, if you propose to yourself the termination
" of your differences with your present enemies,
" and apply yourself to humble the pride, and
" subdue the ferocity of the Turks. Even in
" the situation in which we now stand, there is
" no great time allowed for deliberation. Already
" the kingdoms of Hungary, and Bohemia, are
" harassed and depopulated by their incursions;
" whilst Italy herself, by the loss of many strong
" places on her frontiers, sees these barbarians
" approaching still nearer; an alarming and a me-
" lancholy spectacle! These dangers, if I may be
" allowed openly to express my feelings, keep me
" in apprehension and solicitude, and deprive me
" in a great degree of the satisfaction which I
" should otherwise experience. I offer up, how-
" ever, my prayers to God, that as the dignity of
" his church, of late so greatly impaired, has now
" been so happily restored by the efforts of those
" whose duty it is to assert her cause, he will at
" length place his shrines and temples in security
" from that conflagration, and the people devoted
" to his service from those chains, with which they
" are threatened by his irreconcilable enemies.
" On all these subjects, I have, however, spoken

" more

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"more fully to your ambassadour, the bishop of "Worcester, who will explain to you yet more "particularly my wishes. *Dated 5 Id. Oct.* "1513."

Treaty of Dijon.

From the purport of this letter it is not difficult to perceive, that however much the pope was gratified by the success of the English monarch, it was by no means his wish that he should prosecute his victories. In fact, Leo had already, by the defeat of the French, and their consequent expulsion from Milan, obtained the object which had induced him to take a share in the contest; but besides these decisive events, other circumstances had occurred, which induced the pope to relax in his hostility against the French monarch. A body of fifteen thousand Swiss had made an irruption into the territories of France, where they had carried terrour and consternation through the country, and having besieged Dijon, had compelled the duke de Tremouille, who had shut himself up in that fortress, to a most disgraceful capitulation; by which he agreed, that his sovereign should, in consideration of the retreat of the Swiss, relinquish all pretensions to the dutchy of Milan, and should pay them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns; twenty thousand of which he immediately advanced to them. The apprehensions which the pope had entertained for the safety of Italy, were therefore for the present sufficiently allayed. It is not improbable that Henry allowed

allowed himself to be prevailed upon by the letter of the pope, to relax in his hostilities, for he soon afterwards withdrew his armies, and on the seventeenth day of October, left Lisle, and arrived on the twenty-fourth at his palace at Richmond.

Battle of Vicenza.

Nor did Leo relinquish his endeavours to reconcile the differences which had so long subsisted between the Venetians and the emperour elect; but finding that the senate continued to disregard his earnest recommendations, and being called upon by Maximilian to fulfil the treaty formed with Julius II. by a supply of troops, he despatched a body of two hundred men at arms, and two thousand horse, to the assistance of his allies. Attacked at the same time by the emperour elect, the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Milan, and threatened by the Swiss, who were at once the conquerors of the French, and the terrour of Italy, the Venetians had now no resource but in the courage of their troops, and the talents of their commanders. The first attack of the allied army, under the command of Cardona, was directed against the city of Padua, but the great extent and strength of the place, and the number and courage of the troops employed, under d'Alviano, in its defence, frustrated the efforts of the allies, and after ten days ineffectually employed in its vicinity, they were obliged to retire to Vicenza. Unable to dislodge the Venetians from Padua, they resolved to plunder the fertile territories in the vicinity

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vicinity of the Brenta, which intention they carried into execution with circumstances of peculiar enormity, continuing their excursions along the Adriatick coast, whence they even discharged their artillery against the city of Venice, to the no small vexation and terrour of the inhabitants.[r] These measures induced d'Alviano to take the field, in the hopes of cutting off their retreat. He was accompanied by the Venetian commissaries, Andrea Gritti and Andrea Loredano. By a judicious arrangement on the banks of the Brenta and the Bachiglione, he had already reduced the allied army to great straits. The commissaries were earnest with him to persevere in a system which would subdue their enemies by famine; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano was not to be restrained; and on the seventh day of October, an engagement took place, about three miles from Vicenza, which was not less obstinate and bloody, in proportion to the number of the combatants, than any that Italy had before seen. The attack of the allies was led by Prospero Colonna and Ferdinando Davalos. For some time, the victory remained doubtful; but the Venetians were at length obliged to yield, if not to the courage, to the superiour numbers of their opponents, with the loss in killed and prisoners, of about five thousand men. Among the latter, were the Venetian admiral,

[r] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia, v.* x. *p.* 102.

ral, Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Andrea Loredano, one of the legates of the camp, who afterwards lost his life in a contest among the allies, to determine which of them should hold him in custody. All the baggage and artillery of the Venetians fell into the hands of their enemies, who returned the same evening in triumph to Vicenza. [s]

The emperour elect and Venetians, submit their differences to Leo X.

These hardy republicans, who had thus a second time braved the united attack of the principal powers of Europe, were not, however, yet subdued. The efforts of their commander, Renzo da Ceri, who had possessed himself of the strong city of Crema, where he not only defended himself against the army of the allies, under Prospero Colonna, but frequently made excursions, and plundered his enemies of the contributions which they had raised in the adjacent districts, prevented the Venetians from being wholly deprived of their continental possessions. Their situation was, however, such as would not admit of further hazard; and they therefore at length listened to the admonitions of the pope, and expressed their willingness to submit to him the decision of their differences with the emperour elect. [t] The cardinal

[s] *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* x. 103.

[t] The instrument of submission is preserved by *Lünig. Cod. Ital Diplomat. tom* ii. *p.* 2010, *&c. et. v. Jovius, in vita*

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nal of Gurck, to whom Maximilian had intrusted the direction of his army, now took upon himself the more pacifick office of his ambassadour, and hastened to Rome to negotiate the proposed treaty; which was, however, long protracted by the difficulties which Leo and his ministers experienced, in satisfying the avarice and ambition of this martial ecclesiastick.

Leo renews the council of the Lateran.

On the restoration of Maximilian Sforza to the dutchy of Milan, the cardinals in the interests of Louis XII. had removed their assembly, which they dignified by the name of a council, to Asti, from which place they were soon afterwards obliged to retire for safety to Lyons. For the purpose of frustrating their proceedings, which threatened no less than a total schism in the christian church, and of effecting such salutary regulations in point of discipline, as might deprive the pretended council of any necessity of interfering on that head, Leo determined to renew the meetings of the council of the Lateran, which had been opened by Julius II. and suspended only by his death. To this end, he gave directions that apartments should be prepared for him in the Lateran palace, where he determined to reside, that he might at all times be ready to attend the deliberations in person; and on the

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ta Leon. x. *lib.* iii. *p.* 64. *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *et Bembi Epist. nom. Leon.* x.

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the twenty-seventh day of April, 1513,[u] he accordingly opened the sixth session with great magnificence. If the number and respectability of the dignified ecclesiasticks who were present on this occasion, did honour to the pontiff, the conduct of Leo in the discharge of his office, is acknowledged to have conferred no less dignity on the meeting. He was now in the prime of life; his manners grave, but not austere; and in the performance of those publick acts of devotion, which were at some times incumbent upon him, he acquitted himself with a grace, and a decorum, which gave additional effect to the splendid ceremonies of that religion of which he was the head. After the hymn, *Veni Creator*, Leo delivered a pastoral oration, in which he exhorted the assembled fathers to use their utmost endeavours for the benefit of the church, and declared it to be his intention to continue the council, until the establishment of a general peace among the princes of Christendom.[v]

Nominates four cardinals.

Having thus attended to the regulation of the temporal and ecclesiastical concerns of the Roman see, Leo now conceived that he might, without any imputation of indecorum, confer upon such of his relations and friends, as had continued faithful

[u] *v. Lateran. Concil. sub Leone* X. *celeb. fi.* 72.

[v] *Lateran. Concil. fi.* 75.

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ful to him during his adverse fortune, and whose characters seemed to merit such a distinction, some of those high and lucrative offices of the church, which he was now enabled to bestow. He was also in all probability, desirous of increasing his influence in the sacred college, by the introduction of such additional members, as he knew he should find on all occasions firmly attached to his interests, and was perhaps not less actuated by the disposition, so common to the Roman pontiffs, of aggrandizing the individuals of his own family. Having, therefore, declared his intention of supplying the vacant seats in the college of cardinals, he, on the twenty-third day of September, 1513, nominated to that rank, Lorenzo Pucci, Giulio de' Medici, Bernardo Dovizi, and Innocenzio Cibò; who soon afterwards took their seats in the general council.

Lorenzo Pucci.

The first of these persons was a fellow-citizen of the pontiff; who, born of a good family, and well educated, had early devoted himself to the church, and having had the good fortune to obtain the favour of Julius II. had under that pontiff risen to the rank of apostolick datary, [w] and been employed by him in the most important affairs of the state. By his talents and address Pucci rendered himself conspicuous in the subsequent meetings of the Lateran council, and acted an important part during the

[w] *Negri, Scrittori Fiorentini, p.* 379.

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Giulio de' Medici.

the remainder of this pontificate, particularly in the approaching disturbances occasioned by the opposition of Luther to the Roman see. The partiality of which Leo might have been accused, in selecting his cousin Giulio de' Medici for this distinguished honour, was sufficiently palliated by the acknowledged abilities, and unwearied industry of this his faithful associate, the gravity of whose disposition was happily formed to remedy or correct the occasional sallies of vivacity which distinguished the supreme pontiff, and who, in the publick concerns of the Roman court, may be considered as the regulating pendulum of the great machine. It is true the illegitimacy of his birth, would, according to the canons of the church, have formed an insuperable bar to this promotion; but there was no great difficulty in adducing evidence to prove, that the mother of Giulio, before her cohabitation with his father Giuliano, the brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had received from him a promise of marriage; which was considered as sufficient to enable the pope to dispense with the rigour of the law.[x] Giulio assumed the title of S. Maria in

[x] From these documents, which have been published by Cartharius *in Syllabo advocatorum Sacri Concistorii*, *p.* 71, it appears, that Leo declared Giulio de' Medici, then archbishop elect of Florence, "legitimum, et ex legitimo "matrimonio inter Julianum Mediceum, & *Florettam* An- "tonii, natum fuisse et esse; eumque pro legitimo, et ex "legitimo

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in Domenica, by which the pontiff had formerly been distinguished; but was from henceforth usually called the cardinal de' Medici.[y]

Bernardo Dovizi.

In appointing to the rank of cardinal, Bernardo Dovizi, Leo repaid the obligations which he owed to one of his first instructers, of whose services he had availed himself on many important occasions. The cardinal da Bibbiena, as he was afterwards called, was not one of those rigid ecclesiasticks, who conceive, that on entering the church, they shut out the pleasures of the world. Though acknowledged to possess considerable dexterity in the affairs of state, he did not scruple at times to lay aside his gravity, and to contribute by his wit and vivacity, to the amusement of his reverend associates; and his comedy of *Calandra*, will perpetuate his name, when his political talents, and high ecclesiastical rank, will probably be disregarded or forgotten. After his preferment, the cardinal da Bibbiena became a distinguished promoter of literature, and of the arts; and such was his attachment to the great painter Raffaelle d'Urbino, that

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" legitimo matrimonio procreatum, in omnibus, et per om-
" nia, pleno jure, vere et non ficte, haberi et reputari," &c. *Fabron. in Adnotat.* 31. *ad vit. Leon.* x. *fi*, 275.

[y] He immediately announced his elevation to Henry VIII. in very respectful terms.

that he had consented to give him his niece in marriage; a connexion which was prevented only by the premature death of that accomplished artist. [z]

Innocenzio Cibo.

The last of the newly appointed cardinals, Innocenzio Cibò, was the grandson of Innocent VIII. being the offspring of Francesco Cibò, son of that pontiff by Maddalena, sister of Leo X. He was yet too young to have risen by any talents or merits of his own, but the advantages of his birth would probably have compensated for much greater defects than had fallen to the share of this young man. In the letter which Leo thought proper to address on this occasion to Ferdinand of Aragon, he has briefly enumerated the merits, or pretensions, of the newly created cardinals. "Although I know," says he, "that you are well advised of the pub-"lick transactions of this place, by the diligence "of your envoy; yet I have thought it proper, "that you should learn from myself what has lately "been done for the credit and advantage of the "Roman state; not doubting from your well known "affection to the christian church, that it will prove "equally agreeable to you as to myself. You will "therefore understand, that on the twenty-third "day of September, with the assent of my brethren "the cardinals of the church, I, for various and "weighty

[z] *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori. tom.* ii. *p.* 132. *Ed. di Bottari. Rom.* 1759.

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" weighty reasons, elected into the sacred college, " Lorenzo Pucci my domestick datary, my cousin " Giulio de' Medici, archbishop of Florence, Ber- " nardo Dovizi, of Bibbiena, and Innocenzio Ci- " bò, the son of my sister, and grandson of pope " Innocent VIII. With the prudence and integrity " of three of these, as well as with their skill and " experience in the transaction of publick affairs, " you are well acquainted; and I trust they will " add to the stability, and to the honour of the " church. As to Innocenzio, I hope he will " not disappoint the expectations formed of him. " His capacity is excellent, his morals irreproach- " able, and his endowments are ornamented " by his natural proficiency in literary studies; in- " somuch, that no one can be more accomplished, " virtuous, or engaging." Another reason alleged by Leo, for admitting into the college, a member who had as yet scarcely completed his twenty-first year, was his sense of the favours which he had himself, at so early an age, received from Innocent VIII. which he expressed, by saying, *That which I received from Innocent, to Innocent I restore.*[a]

During the short interval of time which had elapsed between the return of the Medici to Florence,

[a] " Quod ab Innocentio accepi, Innocentio restituo." *Fabr.* 78.

rence, and the elevation of Leo X. the affairs of that turbulent city had been directed by Giuliano, the brother of the pontiff; but in the deliberations on this subject in the Roman court, it was determined that Giuliano should relinquish his authority, and that the direction of the Florentine government should be intrusted to Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, under the immediate direction of Giulio de' Medici, and the ultimate superintendence of the pope. This measure has been attributed to various causes, and in particular, to the dislike of Giuliano to the trouble attending the detail of publick affairs; to the expectation of his obtaining, by the authority of his brother, a situation of still greater importance; and to the prior claims of Lorenzo to this authority, as representative of the elder branch of his family; in which it had become in a manner hereditary. [b] It is, however, yet more probable, that the disposition which Giuliano had always shown, to gratify the wishes of the citizens, of which many instances are on record, [c] had induced

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Lorenzo de' Medici assumes the government of Florence.

[b] *Ammirato, Ist. Fior. lib.* xxix. *v.* iii. *fl.* 315.

[c] Among other proofs of his humane and benevolent disposition, it may be noticed, that he paid a visit to the celebrated Florentine commander, Antonio Giacomino Tebalducci, whose services had been employed by the republick in constant opposition to the Medici, but who was now advanced in years, and deprived of sight. The old warriour, whilst he acknowledged the kindness of Giuliano, boldly

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duced his more politick relations to doubt his resolution, and to distrust his measures; and that they therefore chose to place in his stead a young man, in whose name they might themselves, in fact, govern the republick. At this time Lorenzo was in the twenty-first year of his age, having been born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, a few months before the death of his grandfather, Lorenzo the magnificent.[d] After the expulsion of his family from Florence, he had been brought up by his mother Alfonsina Orsino, and had early felt the effects of popular resentment, having been banished a second time from his native place, when only fifteen years of age, on account of the marriage of his sister Clarice with Filippo Strozzi; an event in which he could have had no responsible share. Lorenzo therefore returned to Florence, where the government was restored to nearly the same

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boldly avowed, that his exertions had not been wanting to preserve the liberties of his country, and requested that he might not be deprived of the arms which he retained in his house, as trophies of his victories, a request to which Giuliano willingly acceded, with high commendations of his courage and fidelity. His conduct to Giovacchino Guasconi, who was gonfaloniere when Paolo Vitelli was executed at Florence, was not less conciliating and benevolent. *v. Nardi, Histor. Fior. lib.* vi. *p.* 158.

[d] *Ammirato, Ritratto di Lorenzo duca d' Urbino. in Opusc. v.* iii. *p.* 102.

same form, in which it had subsisted in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent.[e] Two councils were formed; one of which consisted of seventy members who were elected for life, the other of one hundred members, who were nominated every six months, and in which all persons who had served the office of gonfaloniere, might also attend as often as they thought proper. The province of the council of seventy, was to propose and deliberate on all regulations for the benefit of the state; but before these could be passed into laws, they were also to be considered and approved by the greater council, with whom the power of granting pecuniary supplies, and imposing taxes on the people, was still allowed to reside.[f] Lorenzo himself, instead of being distinguished by any honorary title, was appointed one of the council of seventy, and took his place among his fellow-citizens; but under this external form of a free government, the authority of the Medici was as absolute, as if they had openly assumed the direction of the state. The assembly of seventy was in fact a privy council, nominated at their pleasure, and implicitly following their directions; whilst the greater assembly served merely as a screen, to hide from the people the deformity of a despotick government,

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[e] *Nerli, Commentar. lib.* vi. *p.* 126.

[f] *Ibid.*

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vernment, and as a pretext to induce them to believe, that they were still, in some measure, their own rulers.

Giuliano de' Medici admitted a Roman citizen.

The arrival of Giuliano de' Medici, to take up his residence at Rome, was considered by the citizens as a great honour, and his affability, generosity, and elegant accomplishments, soon procured him a very considerable share of publick favour. On his being admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen, which ceremony took place about the middle of the month of September, 1513, a temporary theatre was erected in the square of the capitol; where a splendid entertainment was prepared, and various poetical compositions were recited, or sung, by persons equally distinguished by their talents, and respectable by their rank. The second day was devoted to the representation of the *Penulus* of Plautus. These exhibitions, which were resorted to by an immense concourse of people, received every decoration which the taste of the times, and the munificence of the pontiff could bestow, and seemed to recall those ages when Rome was the mistress of the world, and expended in magnificent spectacles the wealth of tributary nations. Under the influence of the pontifical favour, talents and learning again revived, and *the Theatre of the Capitol* is celebrated by Aurelius Serenus, of Monopoli, in a Latin poem of no inconsiderable length, which has

has been preserved to the present times.[g] The honours conferred on his brother by the Roman people, Leo affected to consider as a favour to himself; and as a proof of his generosity, and paternal regard, he diminished the oppressive tax upon salt, enlarged the authority of the civil magistrates, and by many publick immunities, and individual favours, sought to secure to himself the affections of his subjects. On this occasion the Roman citizens were not ungrateful. By the general consent of all ranks, a marble statue of the pontiff, the workmanship of the Sicilian sculptor, Giacomo del Duca, a pupil of Michel Agnolo,[h] was erected in the Capitol, under which was inscribed,

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OPTIMI. LIBERALISSIMIQUE. PONTIFICIS.
MEMORIAE.
S. P. Q. R.

Leo pardons the refractory cardinals.

The total ruin of the French cause in Italy, had concurred with the well regulated proceedings of the council of the Lateran, in discrediting the measures,

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[g] This poem, in three books, is entitled THEATRUM CAPITOLINUM, MAGNIFICO JULIANO INSTITUTUM PER AURELIUM SERENUM MONOPOLITANUM. *(lib.* iii.*)* It was printed at Rome, *in ædibus Mazochianis, imperante divo Leone* X. *Pont. Maximo, pontificatus sui anno secundo, anno dni* M.D.XIIII.

[h] *Vasari. Giunti di Bottari, vol.* ii. *p.* 50. *vol.* iii. *p.* 312. *in note.*

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sures, and destroying the authority of the assembly held at Lyons; and the character for lenity and generosity which Leo had already acquired, in affording the hope of pardon to the refractory ecclesiasticks, became also a powerful motive for their submission. Eager to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity of effecting a reconciliation, the cardinals Sanseverino and Carvajal took shipping from France, and arrived at the port of Leghorn, whence they proceeded without interruption by Pisa to Florence. On their arrival at this place, Leo was informed of their intentions; but although it was his wish to pardon their transgressions, he did not think it advisable to suffer them to proceed to Rome, until he had prepared the way for their reception. As well, however, for their safety, as for his own honour, he directed that they should remain at Florence under a guard; and that as they had been deprived by Julius II. which deprivation had been confirmed by the council of the Lateran, they should lay aside the habiliments of their former rank.[i] These directions were communicated to the humbled ecclesiasticks by the bishop of Orvieto, whom Leo had despatched for that purpose, and who, at the same time, assured them of the lenient intentions of the pope, which their proper submission would assist him in carrying into effect. In truth, the hostility between Leo and

[i] *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *vol.* ii. *fi.* 32.

and these cardinals was rather of a political, than a personal nature; and although one of them had presided over the council of Milan, and the other had marched at the head of the French army at the battle of Ravenna, yet these circumstances had not obliterated the remembrance of former kindness; and Leo was, perhaps, gratified in evincing to the world, that he was superiour to the vindictive impulse of long continued resentment. In preparing the way for this reconciliation, he first obtained a decree of the council of Lateran, by which all those prelates and ecclesiasticks who had been pronounced schismatical by his predecessor, should be allowed to come in and make their submission, at any time prior to the end of November, 1513. This decree was, however, strongly opposed, not only by Matthew Schinner, cardinal of Sion, who spoke the opinions of the Helvetick state, and by Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, the representative of the king of England, but by the ambassadours of the emperour elect, and the king of Spain, all of whom expressed their dislike of a measure so derogatory to the majesty of the apostolick see, and strongly represented to the pope the pernicious consequences of granting a pardon to the chief authors of such a dangerous scandal to the church; at the same time highly commending the conduct of Julius II. who to the last hour of his life had refused to listen to any proposals of reconciliation. Leo was not, however, to be moved from his purpose. The repentant

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cardinals

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cardinals were ready to sign their recantation, and the council had approved the terms in which it was expressed. On the evening preceding the day appointed for their restitution, they accordingly entered the city, deprived of the habit and insignia of their rank, and took up their abode in the Vatican. In the morning, they presented themselves before the pope, who was prepared to receive them in the consistory, accompanied by all the cardinals, except those of Sion, and of York, who refused to be present. In the simple habit of priests, and with black bonnets, they were led through the most publick parts of the Vatican, where their humiliation was witnessed by a great concourse of people, who acknowledged, that by this act of penance, they had made a sufficient atonement for the errours of their past conduct. They were then introduced into the consistory, where they entreated, on their knees, the pardon of the pope and cardinals, approving all that had been done by Julius II. particularly the act of their own privation, and disavowing the *conciliabulum* of Pisa and Milan, as schismatical and detestable. Having then subscribed their confession, they were allowed to rise; after which they made their obeisance, and saluted the cardinals, who did not rise from their seats in return. This mortifying ceremony being concluded, they were once more invested in their former habits, and took their places among their brethren, in the same order in which they had sat before

before their privation[j] but this indulgence extended only to their rank, and not to their benefices and ecclesiastical revenues, which having been conferred on others during their delinquency, could not be restored.

Humiliation and absolution of Louis XII.

In the deplorable condition to which the events of a few months had reduced the affairs of Louis XII. it was at least fortunate for him, that some of his adversaries wanted the talents, and others the inclination, to avail themselves of their success. But although Henry VIII. had returned to his own dominions, he avowed his intention of renewing his attack in the ensuing spring, with a still more powerful armament, for the equipment of which he had already begun to make preparations.[k] The treaty entered into between the duke de Tremouille and the Swiss, had, in all probability, prevented those formidable adversaries from proceeding directly to Paris, which, after the capture of

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[j] A full account of this transaction is given by Leo himself, to the emperour elect, Maximilian. *v. Fabron. in vita Leon.* x. *p.* 62. *Guicciard. lib.* xi. *v.* ii. *p.* 48. *&c.*

[k] Leo X. found no little difficulty in curbing the military ardour of the English monarch, as appears not only from the letter before given, but from a particular exhortation addressed to him on this subject. See Note E. at the end of the volume.

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of Dijon, they might have done without difficulty;[1] but Louis could neither discharge the immense sum which the duke had, in his name, stipulated to pay, nor would he relinquish his pretensions to the dutchy of Milan. The terms which he proposed to the Swiss, instead of those which had been solemnly agreed upon, tended only still further to exasperate them; and they threatened, within a limited time, to decapitate the hostages given at Dijon, if the treaty was not punctually fulfilled. These threats they would, in all probability, have carried into execution, had not the hostages effected their escape; but this event, as it increased the resentment of the Swiss, enhanced the dangers of the French monarch, who could only expect the consequences of their vengeance in a still more formidable attack. His apprehensions were further excited by the interception of a letter from Ferdinand of Aragon, to his envoy at the imperial court, in which he proposed that the dutchy of Milan should be seized upon, and the sovereignty vested in Ferdinand, the younger brother of the archduke Charles, afterwards Charles V. which would give the united houses of Austria and Spain a decided ascendency in Italy.[m] That Maximilian might then assume the pontifical throne, as it had always been his wish to do, and resign to his grandson

[1] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. *v.* ii. *fi.* 63.

[m] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. *v.* ii. *fi.* 65.

son Charles the imperial crown; and, although Ferdinand prudently observed, that time and opportunity would be requisite to carry these designs into effect, yet Louis could not contemplate without serious alarm, a project which was intended to exclude him from all further interference in the affairs of Italy, and reduce him to the rank of a subordinate power. In addition to the vexations which surrounded him as to his temporal concerns, he still laboured under the excommunication pronounced against him by Julius II. and as his queen, Anne of Bretagne, was a zealous daughter of the church, she was incessant in her representations to the harassed monarch, to return to his allegiance to the holy see.[n] Whether, as some historians suppose, it was merely in consequence of these solicitations, and the remorse of his own conscience; or whether, as is more probably the case, he was prompted by the apprehensions

[n] "L'Esprit du roi se soustenoit contre toutes ces adversitez; mais il avoit une peine domestique plus grande, "que celle que luy faisoient tous ses enemis. C' etoit sa "propre femme, qui toucheé des scrupules ordinaires à "son sexe, ne pouvoit souffrir qu'il fût mal avec le Pape, "& qu'il entretînt un Concile contre lui. Comme elle luy "rompoit perpetuellement la teste sur ces deux poincts, "il etoit souvent contraint pour paix avoir, d'arrester ses "armes, lorsque ses affaires alloient le mieux," &c. *Mezerai, Hist. de Fr. tom.* iv. *Fabr. in vita Leon* x. *not.* 29, *p.* 274. *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* iv. *tom.* ii. *p.* 330.

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hensions which he so justly entertained of his numerous and powerful enemies, he conceived it was now high time to effect a reconciliation with the pope. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and on the sixth day of November, 1513, a treaty was signed at the abbey of Corbey, by which the king agreed to renounce the council of Pisa, and declared his assent to that of the Lateran; promising also to show no favour in future to the council of Pisa, and to expel those who should adhere to it from his dominions. ° The reconciliation of the French monarch to the church, was not, however, without its difficulties, and three cardinals were appointed to consider on the means to be adopted for securing the honour of the king, and the dignity of the holy see. Their deliberations were not of long continuance; and in the eighth session of the Lateran council, which was held on the last day of the year 1513, the envoys of the king of France were admitted, who producing the mandate of their sovereign, renounced, in his name, the proceedings of the council of Pisa, and expressed, in ample terms his adherence to that of the Lateran. They also engaged, that six of the French prelates, who had been present at the council of Pisa, should proceed to Rome, to make

° This treaty, which was countersigned by Bembo, on behalf of the pope, is given in the collection of Du Mont. *vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 175.

make the formal submission of the Gallican church. The humiliation of Louis XII. was now complete; and Leo, with the consent of the council, gave him full absolution for all past offences against the holy see.

CHAP. XI.

1513—1514.

EXTRAORDINARY depression of polite learning in Rome—State of the Roman Academy—High expectations formed of Leo X.—The Gymnasium or Roman university restored—Leo X. encourages the study of the Greek tongue—Giovanni Lascar—Letter of Leo X. to Marcus Musurus—The Greek Institute founded in Rome—Translation of the Greek verses of Musurus prefixed to the first edition of Plato—Musurus appointed archbishop of Malvasia—Dedication by Aldo Manuzio, of the works of Plato to Leo X.—Leo grants him the pontifical privilege for publishing the Greek and Roman authors—Greek Press established by Leo X. at Rome and works there published—Agostino Chisi a merchant at Rome and a promoter of literature—Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo—Greek Press of Zaccaria Calliergo—Greek literature promoted by learned Italians—Varino Camerti—His Thesaurus Cornucopiæ—Is appointed librarian to the Medici family and bishop of Nocera—His Apothegms—His Greek Dictionary under the name of Phavorinus—Scipione Forteguerra called Carteromachus—Urbano Bolzanio—Publishes the first grammatical rules in Latin for the Greek language—Leo obtains a more complete copy of the works of Tacitus—Employs Beroaldo to publish it—The work pirated by Minuziano of

of Milan—Rise of the study of Oriental literature—Teseo Ambrogio appointed by Leo X. professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna—His elementary work on the Chaldean and other languages—Agostino Giustiniano publishes a Polyglot edition of the Psalter—Great Complutensian Polyglot of cardinal Ximenes dedicated to Leo X.—Leo directs the translation of the scriptures by Pagnini to be published at his expense—Encourages researches for eastern manuscripts.

CHAP. XI.

1513. Æt. 38.

Extraordinary depression of polite learning in Rome.

OF the state of literature in Rome, at the time when Leo X. then cardinal de' Medici, first took up his residence in that city, some account has already been given in a former part of this work. Since that period upwards of twenty years had now elapsed, without affording any striking symptoms of improvement. Whoever takes a retrospect of the momentous events which had occurred during that interval, will be at no loss to account for that neglect of liberal studies which was apparent in some degree throughout the whole extent of Italy, but was particularly observable at Rome. The descent of Charles VIII; the contests between the French and Spanish monarchs for the crown of Naples; the various irruptions of Louis XII. for the recovery of Milan; the restless ambition of Alexander VI. and the martial ferocity of Julius II. had concurred to distract the attention, to oppress the faculties, and to engage in political intrigues, or in military pursuits, those talents which might otherwise have been devoted to better purposes. Amidst the sacking of cities, the downfal

fal of states, the extinction or the exile of powerful families and distinguished patrons of literature, and all the horrours of domestick war, was it possible for the sciences, the muses, and the arts, to pursue their peaceable and elegant avocations?

CHAP. XI. 1513. Æt. 38.

Whilst thundering Etna rolls his floods of flame,
Shall Daphne crop the flowers by Arethusa's stream?[a]

The indefatigable researches of the Italian scholars, have indeed discovered some slight traces of that literary association, first formed by Pomponius Letus, and which, after having been dispersed by the barbarity of Paul II. had again been restored by the laudable exertions of Angelo Colocci, Paolo Cortese, Jacopo Sadoleti, the younger Beroaldo, and a few other learned men. It appears that these persons met together at stated times, that they elected a dictator, and amused themselves with literary pursuits; but they seem to have devoted their leisure hours rather to pleasure than to improvement. Their talents were employed chiefly on ludicrous subjects,[b] and the muses to whom they

State of the Roman academy.

[a] "Quand sur les champs de Siracuse
"Un Volcan vient au loin, d'exercer ses fureurs,
"Aux bords désolés d' Aréthuse
"Daphné cherche t'elle des fleurs?"

Gresset.

[b] Fedro Inghirami, one of the members of this learned body, writes thus, in the year 1506, to his friend Andrea Umiliato.

CHAP. XI. 1513. Æt. 38.

they paid their devotions, were too often selected from the courtezans of Rome.[c] The patronage afforded

Umiliato. " —— advola obsecro et accurre, si vis ridere " quantum et Democritus numquam risit. *Savoja* unguenta " tractat et Cyprium pulverem ; pulverem, inquam, Cy- " prium et unguenta tractat *Savoja*. Qui antea bubulcitari " tantum solebat, bubus equisque stipatus vadebat, nunc " delicatus Myropolas adit, deque odoribus disputat. Nam " quid ego narrem tibi Hispanicas manicas, Gallicas vestes, " Germanas soleas," &c. *Ap. Tirab. Stor. Let. Ital. v.* vii. *p.* 1. *p.* 127.

[c] Among these, the most distinguished was the beautiful Imperia, so frequently celebrated in the Latin odes of Beroaldo the younger, and in the verses of Sadoleti. Of the splendour with which she received her visiters, an ample account is given by Bandello, in his novels. Such was the elegance of her apartments, that when the ambassadour of the Spanish monarch paid her a visit, he turned round and spat in the face of one of his servants, excusing himself by observing, that it was the only place he could find fit for the purpose. *v. Bandello, par* iii. *nov.* 42. Her toilet was surrounded with books, both in Italian and Latin, and she also amused herself in writing poetry, in the study of which she was a disciple of Niccolò Campano, called *Strascino*, who was probably indebted to her for the subject of one of his poems, " Sopra il male incognito." *v. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol.* ii. *p.* 294. She died in the year 1511, at the age of twenty-six, and was allowed to be buried in consecrated ground, in the chapel of S. Gregoria, with the following epitaph.

Imperia, Cortisana Romana, quæ digna tanto nomine, raræ inter homines formæ Specimen ded t. Vixit annos xxvi. *dies* xii. *obiit* 1511. *die* 15 *Augusti.*

She

afforded to these studies by Leo X. whilst he was yet a cardinal, was of a much more respectable and effectual nature. His house, which was situated in the *Forum agonale*, now called the *Piazza Navona*, was the constant resort of all those who to the honours of their rank united any pretensions to literary acquirements. It is not, therefore, surprising, that on his elevation to the pontificate, those men of talents and learning, who had been accustomed to share his favour, and to partake of his bounty, should consider this event as the harbinger of general prosperity, and the opening of a better age. This exultation frequently burst forth in their writings; and Leo found himself commended on every hand for labours which he had yet to perform.

Expectations formed of Leo X.

—— Now comes the happier age so long foretold,
When the true pastor guards his favoured fold,
Soon shall the streams with honied sweetness flow;
And truth and justice fix their seats below;
Retiring Mars his dreadful anger cease,
And all the world be hush'd in lasting peace."[d]

The

She left a daughter, who redeemed her name from disgrace by a life of unimpeachable modesty, and who destroyed herself by poison, to avoid the licentious attempts of the cardinal Petrucci. *v. Colocci, Poesie Ital. p.* 29. *Note. Ed. Jesi.* 1772.

[d] "Hunc ego crediderim verum fore tempore nostro
"Pastorem; elegit Juppiter arce sua.

CHAP. XI. 1513. Æt. 38.

The high expectations formed of him in the commencement of his pontificate, are yet more fully expressed by another of his contemporaries, who might on this occasion have rejoiced in the completion of his own auguries.

——— for now when all the earth,
Boasts none more great, more excellent than thee,
Be it thy task to watch with ceaseless care,
O'er all the race of man. By holy laws,
To sanction virtue; and by just rewards,
Raise drooping merit and ingenuous worth.
Nor these alone, but mightier tasks than these
Await thee. Soon the cheering smile of peace
Shall glad the nations. Kings, and mighty lords,
And warlike leaders, cease their hostile ire,
And at thy bidding join their willing hands.[e]

The number and importunity of these writers, who intruded upon him at every step with their officious suggestions, became indeed so remarkable, as to give occasion to compare them to apes, who imagined they could instruct or amuse the lion

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" Flumina melle fluent, descendet ab æthere Virgo,
" Cumque sua populis jura sorore dabit.
" Principe quo, longa Mavors formidine terras
" Solvet, et in toto pax erit orbe diu."
L. Parmenius Genesius, de Leone x. *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. v.* v. *p.* 282.

[e] *Joannis Francisci Philomusi, Exultatio in creatione Leonis* x. &c.

lion; a charge which one of their brethren has thus acknowledged: CHAP. XI. 1513. Æt. 38.

For oft as we, the muses faithful train,
Strive with our songs to sooth thy hours of pain:
What, shall he ne'er, they cry, their teasings scape?
The lion still tormented by the ape!
From that blest day, when first his glory rose,
They haunt his footsteps wheresoe'er he goes;
At home, abroad, within his halls immured,
Nor in his chamber, nor his bed secured;
Debarred alike with lonely step to rove,
Where spreads the prospect, or where glooms the grove.
— Whether, with mighty cares of state opprest,
The fate of nations labours in his breast,
Or wearied with the toils which grandeur knows,
He takes his meal, or sinks in bland repose;
Yet still they follow, exquisite to vex,
His patience weary, and his thoughts perplex;
So, where the monarch of the wood resorts,
In awkward attitudes the monkey sports:
Turns his bare haunch, and twirls his tail on high,
More pertinacious than a teasing fly."

The poet then adverts to the conduct of Leo towards the sons of the muses.

"But more indulgent thou their labours view,
And like the lion, bear the trifling crew."

He afterwards proceeds in a higher strain to repel the censure, and justify the attention paid by the poets to the conduct of the pontiff.

Yes,

CHAP. XI.

1513. Æt. 38.

Yes, all imports us that thy mind revolves;
Thy secret counsels and thy deep resolves,
To heal the wounds that Europe now deplores,
And turn the tide of war on Turkey's shores;
Nor these alone, but bolder themes inspire
The daring bard, that glows with heavenly fire.[f]

This apology seems to have been admitted by the pontiff; who, if he was not incited to the laudable acts which distinguish his pontificate by the exhortations of his literary admirers, was neither displeased with the high expectations which had been formed of him, nor inattentive in availing himself of every opportunity to fulfil them.

Among the establishments which had been formed in Rome, for the promotion of more serious studies, the *Gymnasium*, or college, yet subsisted; although in a depressed and languid state, in consequence of the turbulent events of the preceding pontificate. This institution was founded by Eugenius IV,[g] but the more modern and convenient building,

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[f] *Jo. Pierii Valeriani, ad Leonem.* x.

[g] "— Gymnasium media spectatur in urbe,
"Musarum studiis, et pubertate decorum,
"Eugenii quarti auspiciis et munere primum
"Fundatum."

Andr. Fulvius, de Antiquitatibus Urbis. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. tom. v. *p.* 229.

building, which was appropriated to its use, was erected by Alexander VI. who had also called to Rome the most distinguished professors in Italy, had rewarded them with liberal salaries, and regulated the discipline of the place, so as to render it of essential service to the promotion of liberal studies. [h] The revenues destined by Alexander for the support of this institution, are said to have arisen from the impositions charged upon the Jews within the ecclesiastical states; but from whatever source they were derived, they had been perverted during the pontificate of Julius II. to the purposes of contention and warfare. No sooner, however, was Leo seated in the pontifical chair, than this seminary became one of the chief objects of his attention. The revenues of the college were restored, and the chairs of its professors were filled with the most eminent scholars, who were attracted from every part of Europe by the reputation and liberality of the pontiff. [i] From the original roll of the

CHAP. XI.

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The Gymnasium or Roman university restored.

[h] "Hæc loca *Alexander* renovavit *Sextus*, et auxit
"Atria porticibus designans ampla superbis.
"Atque academiacas priscorum more diætas,
"Et subjecta suis subsellia docta Cathedris;
"Pallas ubi, et Musæ custode sub Hercule florent,
"Cecropiis quondam veluti florebant Athenis."
Andr. Fulv. ut supr.

[i] "—— inceptumque opus intermissaque moles,
"Et loca Gymnasii perfecto fine jubentur
"Protinus

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the Roman academy, as it existed in 1514, being the year after its reestablishment by Leo X. [k] it appears that the number of professors who received a remuneration from the bounty of the pontiff, and many

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" Protinus absolvi, divo imperitante LEONE.
" Unde Dea, accepti doni non immemor ampli,
" Excitat ingenia ad Musarum præmia sacra,
" Et totas Heliconis aquas ex fonte perenni,
" Fluminibus magnis, et laxis Pallas habenis
" Præcipit Aonias, concusso monte sorores
" Pandere, et hauriri sitientibus ubere potu ;
" Unde professores quæsitos Roma per orbem
" Artibus ingenuis monstrandis, protulit aptos
" Musarum auspiciis, et Apollinis omine fausto."
And. Fulv. de antiquit. urbis. Ed. Rom. 1513.

[k] This singular document, which yet remains, is elegantly written on vellum, and highly ornamented with the papal arms, and allegorical figures of the sciences and arts. Its contents were given to the publick in the year 1797, by the learned Abate Gaetano Marini, keeper of the archives in the castle of S. Angelo, who has accompanied it with a brief account of the reestablishment of the Roman academy, and with historical and biographical notices of the professors. The reader may consult the roll and lists of the professors in Note F. at the end of the volume ; but for a more particular account of many of the persons there mentioned, I am compelled, by the limits of this work, to refer to the before mentioned publication, entitled, *Lettera dell' Abate Gaetano Marini al charissimo Monsignor Giuseppe Muti Papazurri già Casali, nella quale s'illustra il Ruolo de' professori dell' Archiginnasio Romano per l' anno MDXIV. In Roma, presso Michele Puccinelli a Tor Sanguigna.* 1797.

many of whom enjoyed considerable salaries, amounted to nearly one hundred; that they read lectures in theology, in the civil and canon law, in medicine, in moral philosophy, in logick, in rhetorick, and in mathematicks; and that there was even a professor of botany, and the medical science of plants, which may perhaps be with confidence considered as the earliest instance of a publick establishment for that purpose. Among these professors we find the names of many persons of great eminence in the annals of literature, and whose merits will necessarily occur to our future notice. Having thus supplied the Roman college with proper instructers, the next care of the pontiff was to render the benefits to be derived from it as general and extensive as possible; lest, as he expressed it, "there should at times be more "lecturers than hearers." He therefore restored to the pupils their ancient privileges and immunities; he ordered that the lectures should be read both in the morning and evening, and should not be interrupted on account of the numerous festivals of the Roman church.[1] The assiduity with which he promoted this great establishment, not only at this period, but throughout his whole pontificate, sufficiently appears from the numerous letters addressed by him to the most distinguished scholars of the time, inviting their assistance, and requesting

[1] *Marini, Lettera, ut sup. p. 7.*

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ing them to take up their residence at Rome. [m] In a bull, dated in the year 1514, he has himself recapitulated, with a laudable exultation, the important services rendered to the cause of literature and science in the renovation of this institution. [n] "Having lately," says he, "been called by divine "Providence to the office of supreme pontiff, and "having restored to our beloved subjects their "rights, we have, among other things, regranted "to the Roman university those revenues which "had for many years been perverted to other pur- "poses. And to the end that the city of Rome "may assume that superiority over the rest of the "world

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[m] *Bembi, Epist. nomine Leon*, x. *lib.* ix. 39, &c. *Marini, Lettera ut sup. p.* 110.

[n] "Sane nuper ad summum pontificatum divina provi- "dentia cum assumpti fuissemus, et restitutis in pristinis "juribus dilectis filiis populo Romano, inter alia vectigal "Gymnasii Romani multis ante annis ad alios usus distrac- "tum, eisdem restituissemus; ut urbs Roma ita in re Li- "teraria, sicut in ceteris rebus, totius orbis caput esset, "procuravimus, accersitis ex diversis locis ad profitendum "in Gymnasia prædicto viris in omni doctrinarum genere "præclarissimis; quo factum est, ut præcedenti anno pon- "tificatus nostri primo, talis studentium numerus, ad "eandem urbem confluxerit, ut jam Gymnasium Romanum "inter omnia alia totius Italiæ principatum facile obtentu- "rum videatur." *P. Caaffa de Gymnas. Rom.* i. 201. *ap. Tirab. Stor. della Lett. Ital. T. par.* i. *p.* 111. *et v. Fabr. in vita Leon.* x *p.* 71.

" world in literary studies which she already enjoys
" in other respects, we have, from different parts,
" obtained the assistance of men acquainted with
" every branch of learning, whom we have ap-
" pointed professors; on which account, even in
" the first year of our pontificate, such numbers
" of students have resorted to this place, that the
" university of Rome is likely soon to be held in
" higher estimation than any other in Italy."

Leo encourages the study of the Greek tongue.

But amidst the efforts of Leo for the improvement of letters and of science, his attention was perhaps yet more particularly turned towards the promotion of the study of the Greek tongue; without which he was convinced, in the language of one of his contemporaries, that the Romans themselves would not have had any learning to boast of.° In order to give new vigour to this study, which had long languished for want of encouragement, he determined to avail himself of the services of Giovanni Lascar, a noble and learned Greek, who had in his youth been driven from his country by the progress of the Turkish arms, and had been indebted to the bounty of the cardinal Bessarion for his education, and consequent eminence. Having made a considerable proficiency at the

Giovanni Lascar.

° " Nisi Literæ Græcæ essent, Latini nihil eruditionis " haberent " *Codri Urcei Serm.* iii. *in ofter. fi.* 92.

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the university of Padua, Lascar had been commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici to travel to Greece, with the view of collecting ancient manuscripts; for which purpose he took two journies, in the latter of which he appears to have been very successful. [p] After the death of Lorenzo, and the expulsion of his surviving family from Florence, Lascar accompanied Charles VIII. into France, where he still continued to inculcate the principles of Grecian literature, and where the celebrated Budeus was glad to avail himself of his instructions. [q] On the death of that monarch, he obtained in an eminent degree, the confidence of his successour, Louis XII. who sent him, in the year 1503, as his ambassadour to the state of Venice, in which capacity he remained there until the year 1508. The contests which arose between Louis XII. and the Venetians, in consequence of the memorable league of Cambray, terminated his diplomatick functions; but it is conjectured, that Lascar still resided at Venice, although in a private capacity; and it is certain, that at this place he had the credit of instructing the celebrated Erasmus. On the elevation of Leo to the pontificate, Lascar wrote to congratulate him, and immediately afterwards

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[p] *Hodius de Græc. Illust. p.* 249. *Life of Lorenzo de' Med. vol.* ii. *p.* 61.

[q] *Hodius de Græc. Illust.* 251.

wards quitted Venice to pay him a visit at Rome. On his way he received a letter from the pope, assuring him of his friendship, and of his constant attention to the promotion of those studies by which Lascar was himself so eminently distinguished. After deliberating with Lascar on the means to be adopted for facilitating and extending the study of the Greek tongue, Leo formed the design of inviting a number of young and noble Greeks to quit their country and take up their residence under his protection at Rome; where, by the directions of Lascar, they were not only to prosecute the study of their native tongue, but to be instructed also in Latin literature. On the recommendation of Lascar, [r] the pontiff also addressed himself on this occasion to Marcus Musurus, one of the disciples of Lascar, who, after having taught in the university of Padua, had chosen his residence

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[r] Mr. Warton informs us, on the authority of Jovius, that Lascar "made a voyage into Greece, by command of "Leo X. and brought with him some Greek boys, who "were to be educated in the college which that pope had "founded on Mount Quirinal; and who were intended to "propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the "Greek tongue." *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ii. 429. *note (y)*. But Mr. Warton has either mistaken, or been misled by his authority, as Lascar continued to superintend the Greek establishment at Rome till the year 1518, when he returned, probably in a publick character, to France.

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residence at Venice.[s] The letter written by Leo on this occasion, whilst it sufficiently explains the object which he had in view, will show with what ardour he engaged in its prosecution.

Leo X. to Marcus Musurus.

Letter of Leo X. to Musurus.

"Having a most earnest desire to promote the "study of the Greek tongue, and of Grecian litera- "ture, which are now almost extinct, and to en- "courage the liberal arts as far as lies in my power, "and being well convinced of your great learning "and singular judgment, I request that you will "take the trouble of inviting from Greece ten "young men, or as many more as you may think "proper, of good education and virtuous disposi- "tion; who may compose a seminary of liberal "studies, and from whom the Italians may derive "the proper use and knowledge of the Greek "tongue. On this subject you will be more fully "instructed by Giovanni Lascar, whose virtues "and learning have deservedly rendered him dear "to me. I have a confidence also, that from the "respect and kindness which you have already "shown me, you will apply with the utmost dili- "gence to effect what may seem to you to be "necessary,

[s] He began to teach publickly at Padua, in the year 1503, as appears by the ducal decree, published by Agostini in his *Notizie di Batt. Egnazio. Calogerà, Opuscoli v.* 33. *p.* 25.

" necessary, for accomplishing the purposes which " I have in view." *Dated* viii. *Id. Aug.* 1513.[t]

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For the accommodation of these illustrious strangers, Leo purchased from the cardinal of Sion, his residence on the Esquilian hill,[u] which he converted into an academy for the study of Grecian literature, and of which he intrusted the chief direction to Lascar,[v] to whom he assigned a liberal pension. This establishment is frequently adverted to in terms of high commendation by the writers of this period.[w]

The Greek Institute founded in Rome.

At the very time when Leo requested the assistance of Musurus, for the establishment of his Greek seminary in Rome, that elegant scholar was terminating the first edition, in the original Greek, of the

Grek verses of Musurus prefixed to the first edition of Plato.

[t] *Bemb. Epist. in nom. Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *Ep.* 8.

[u] *Fabron. in vita Leon. p.* 68.

[v] *Budæi. Ep. ap. Maittaire Annal. Typogr.* i. 107. *Hodius, de Græc. illustr.* 251.

[w] Thus Vida, in enumerating the services rendered to literature by the family of the Medici,

" Illi etiam Graiæ miserati incommoda gentis,
" Ne Danaûm penitus caderet cum nomine virtus,
" In Latium advectos juvenes, juvenumque magistros,
" Argolicas artes quibus esset cura tueri,
" Securos musas jussere atque otia amare."

Poeticor. lib. i. *v.* 196.

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the writings of Plato, of which great work, he had, by the desire of Aldo Manuzio, superintended the printing. To this edition he prefixed a copy of Greek verses, which are so extremely applicable to the circumstances of the times, and to the character and conduct of the pontiff, that they cannot fail even in a translation, of throwing additional light on these subjects.[x]

TRANSLATION *of the Greek Verses, prefixed by* MARCUS MUSURUS, *to the first edition of the works of* PLATO.

SPIRIT DIVINE, who 'midst thy kindred throng
Of sainted heroes sit'st; to whom 'tis given
To track the burning wheels, that bear along
The great Creator o'er the deeps of heaven,
IMMORTAL PLATO! from thy lofty sphere,
Revisiting again this genial earth,
Accept the volume, we thy votaries bear,
The sacred work that owes to thee its birth.
Where full displayed, we trace the mighty hand
Of him, the ONE great Architect; unchanged
Who fills the void of space, and whose command
Th' empyreal orbs in eight-fold order ranged.
Suspended high, of all his works the chief,
The fixed sun pours his unextinguished light,
Whilst seven inferiour stars, in soft relief,
Shed their mild lustre o'er the shadowy night.

Or

[x] Of these verses, a correct and handsome edition was published at Cambridge, in 1797, by Samuel Butler, A. B. fellow of St. John's College, with various illustrations, and a Latin translation, by Zanobio Acciajuoli.

Or wondering mark th' unceasing central force,
Bound by whose chain the mighty whole revolves,
While unreluctant in its silent course,
Each in due time its fated round absolves.
Thence too the glorious hope, that fires the soul
With secret longings for its heavenly home,
Spurns the dull bonds of earth, the base control
Of mortal fate, and lives beyond the tomb.
Nor uninstructed by thy sacred page,
We bid the city's towering ramparts rise,
By justice guard them, and by statutes sage
Define the bounds of right; with watchful eyes,
Whilst Shame and Punishment, immortal pair,
Protect the peopled haunts. But ah! what tongue
To number all the sacred truths shall dare
That breathe thy warm, inspiring page along?
Thou then, accept the votive tome, and haste
To ROME's seven-crowned hills; where still resides
Imperial sway, and 'midst AUSONIA's waste
Rich TIBER rolls his fertilizing tides.
Not there a tyrant's scowling brow to meet,
Of Scylla born, who mocks the heavenly muse;
No Dionysius fierce; for there shall greet
Thy welcome presence, HE whom Europe views
With wondering awe, her pastor and her guide,
From great LORENZO sprung; the brightest star
Of MEDICEAN fame; with conscious pride
Whom his own FLORENCE hails; and from afar
The sceptered rulers of the nations own,
And as their Lord obey; in towering state,
Imperial LEO named; who bears alone
The key that opes Olympus' lofty gate,
There, as the holy portals meet thy sight,
A friendly train around thy steps shall throng,
Accomplished bards, whom virtuous toils delight,
Lords of the lyre, and masters of the song.

But

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But two beyond the rest those precincts grace;
The first from GRÆCIA, of distinguished fame,
To whom, derived from LASCAR's noble race,
The triple-fronted God concedes his name.
'Twas he my infant steps, with ceaseles care,
Guarded, and loved me with a parent's love;
He bade me to the muse's hill repair,
And pointed out the glorious meed above.
Illustrious BEMBO next; whose honied tongue
Gives in three languages his thoughts to flow:
O'er whose blest birth the sister graces hung,
And taught his mind with all their charms to glow.
Be these thy guides; and to his presence brought,
Thou, with submissive lip, his holy feet
Touch reverent; then, with sacred fervour fraught,
In strains like these, the mighty pontiff greet.
"PASTOR REVER'D, propitious be thy smile,
"O'er all thy flock, to earth's remotests ends;
"Nor thou refuse the offspring of his toil,
"The Grecian tome thy duteous ALDUS sends—
"Sends, but in conscious independence bold,
"A great remuneration dares to claim;
"Not silver high embossed, nor heaps of gold,
"Nor splendid robes with purple tints that flame;
"But that thy hand might dash the fiend of war,
"That now relentless o'er EUGANIA's plain
"Roams uncontrolled, and drives his iron car
"Through scenes of horrour and o'er heaps of slain.
"What heart so hard, that would not melt to hear
"The orphan's wail, the widow's piercing cry?
"Antiphates himself might drop a tear,
"And Polyphemus heave a pitying sigh;
"Temples and domes a common ruin share;
"The crackling harvests in the flame expire;
"Whilst fierce barbarians, all unused to spare,
"Glean the last relicks of destructive fire;

"Calm

"Calm thou their fierce contentions, MIGHTY CHIEF;
"To peace, to love thy erring sons restore;
"From thee, let suffering nations find relief;
"And bid contending monarchs rage no more.
"Deep hid within his cavern's dark recess,
"Too long has Mars the goddess Peace confined;
"Thou lead her forth, to harmonize, to bless,
"And with her bounteous gifts, enrich mankind.
"Then turn the tide of war on TURKEY's shores,
"And curb the wolf-like, unbelieving band,
"Whose tyrant empire fainting GREECE deplores;
"Whilst hovering now o'er IAPYGIA's strand,
"They threaten in degrading chains to bind
"Thy sons, and banish the REDEEMER's name;
"But let them first thy ready vengeance find;
"On ASIA's shores let warlike myriads gleam.
"There let the GAUL, in mailed armour bright,
"Spur his proud steed, conspicuous from afar:
"HELVETIAS's sons, on foot who urge the fight,
"Sweep o'er the field, a sable cloud of war.
"And they who joy to wield the glittering spear,
"The bold IBERIANS shall the battle grace;
"GERMANIA's giant offspring too be there,
"And, lov'd of Mars, BRITANIA's hardy race.
"And all who yet survive the wasteful sword,
"Italia's heroes, long in battle tried;
"All prompt to march through regions unexplor'd;
"Scale the steep hill, or stem the surging tide.
"With these PEONIA's tribes, the bow who bend,
"Their feathery shafts oft tinged in Turkish blood;
"And VENICE there her countless fleets shall send;
"Imperial VENICE, mistress of the flood.
"SPAIN's floating battlements, of mountain size,
"Tow'rds the wide HELLESPONT their course shall steer,
"And

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" And whilst their towering masts salute the skies,
" Each warlike prow the healing cross shall bear.
" Then o'er BYZANTIUM's towers, if once again
" The light of freedom dawn; if then, represt
" By thy victorious arms, on GRECIA's plain
" The poisonous dragon lower his hateful crest,
" 'Tis all achieved—for then, from bondage freed,
" ACHAIA's sons their ancient fires shall feel;
" Beneath their hands the barbarous foe shall bleed,
" Or fly before their swift avenging steel.
" And shouts of triumph, and victorious songs,
" And grateful anthems, shall to heaven arise;
" And whilst around thee crowd the conquering throngs
" All ASIA's wealth shall glitter in thine eyes.
" And clad in sounding arms, the warriour bold
" Shall join the dance and share the social mirth;
" Revolving time a better age unfold;
" And sacred justice, long estranged from earth,
" Again return propitious; nor in vain
" Raise o'er the guilty head her awful sword;
" And all mankind, beneath thy equal reign,
" Enjoy the lasting peace by thee restored.
" Haste happier hours! meanwhile, with pleased regard,
" Let drooping SCIENCE own thy fostering care;
" O let the studious, but neglected, bard,
" Thy favouring smile, thy liberal bounty share.
" From GRECIA's shores, from fair ITALIA's clime,
" Call thou their noble sons impatient forth;
" Ingenuous youths, who feel the glow sublime,
" Of native genius, or paternal worth.
" And midst thy ROME a calm retreat provide,
" Hid from the crowd; but near the sheltered home,
" Let the fair Naiads roll their constant tide;
" So may it emulate the far-famed dome
" Of Grecian ACADEME; where once 'twas mine,
" To pour instruction 'midst the youthful band;

" Imbue

" Imbue the generous breast with truths divine,
" Retracing all that early culture planned.
" These now no more remain—yet still survive
" The latent sparks of learning's holy flame;
" O let thy breath its genuine glow revive,
Till each young bosom catch the lucid beam.
" On TIBER's banks ATHENIAN bands shall rove,
" Nor mourn to quit ILYSSUS' favoured strand;
" Surrounding thousands shall thy toils approve,
" And give thy name to every distant land.
" Through every clime, in every varied tongue,
" The Rhetor's eloquence, the Poet's fire,
" To future ages shall thy praise prolong;
" And but with time itself thy fame expire.
" Too oft, forgetful of their trust divine,
" Have former pontiffs burnt with warlike rage;
" But, by paternal maxims taught, 'tis thine
" To heal the wounds of war, and meliorate the age."
Thus by thy strain, IMMORTAL PLATO! fired,
Shall mighty aims engage his ardent mind;
Such once his father's glowing breast inspired,
The friend of peace, the light of human kind.
Then, whilst his wondering eye thy form shall trace,
In full dilated majesty outspread;
The sacred features of thy beaming face,
And ample honours of thy hoary head,
Awhile in pleased attention shall he bend,
And to thy precepts yield a willing ear:
But now thy destined hour arrives—ascend
And join the triumphs of the heavenly sphere.

The result of these verses,[x] and of the assiduity of Musurus in executing the commission intrusted to

[x] " Sed longe excellit Elegia Græca, qua Platonis opera " edita

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to him by the pope, was manifested in his appointment to the archbishoprick of Malvasia in the Morea,[y] which had lately become vacant by the death of

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" edita ab Aldo MDXIII. præmunivit; partim in Platonis " laudes, partim Leoni x. offerens istam editionem, illiusque " patrocinium ambiens, et partim illum ad bellum Turci- " cum excitans. Cujus carminis gratia maxime creditur " factus fuisse archiepiscopus." *Hod. de Græc. illustr.* 300.

[y] Jovius informs us, that Musurus was appointed archbishop of Ragusa; *Iscritt. p.* 62. Into which errour he was probably led, by not being aware, that there are two places in Europe, called in Latin *Epidaurus*; viz. *Ragusa* in Dalmatia, and *Malvasia* in the Morea; of the latter of which Musurus was archbishop. The see of Ragusa was at this time filled by Giovanni de Volterra. *v. Agostini, Notizie di Batt. Egnazio. ap. Calogerà Opusc. v.* 33. *p.* 23. Tiraboschi places the promotion of Musurus about 1517, adding, that he enjoyed his dignity but a short time, having died in the autumn of *the same year*. *Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 424. It is, however, certain, that the promotion of Musurus took place in or before the year 1516, as appears from the preface to the Aldine edition of Pausanias, published in the last mentioned year, " Hæc " autem a nobis præstari tibi potuerunt, suasore adjutoreque " M. Musuro; quem nuper heroicarum literarum decus, " Venetiis propagantem Græciæ priscis autoribus partim " illustri juventuti enarrandis non sine laude, partim emen- " datione castigationeque in pristinum nitorem, quoad ejus " fieri poterat, restituendis, LEO X. PONT. OPT. MAX. sponte " sua, nihil tale cogitantem, admirabili consensu S. S. car- " dinalium in archiepiscopalem dignitatem evexit. Quæ " res ut non mediocrem sanctissimo pastori laudem pepe- " rit,

of Manilius Rhallus, another learned Greek, on whom Leo had before conferred that dignity as a reward for his talents and his learning.[a] Nor did Musurus live long to enjoy his honours, having died at Rome, in the autumn of the year 1517. It has been asserted, on the authority of Valerianus and Jovius, that his death was occasioned by his regret and vexation at not having been honoured with the purple, as a reward for his literary labours;[b] but there seems to be neither truth nor probability in this opinion; and, although the Greek poem of Musurus entitled its author to rank with

Musurus appointed arch. bishop of Nalvasia.

"rit, ita literatis ad bene sperandum certissimum signum "erexit." That he did not long live to enjoy his dignity, may, however, be conjectured from his epitaph at Rome.

MUSURE, O MANSURE PARUM, PROPERATA TULISTI
PRÆMIA; NAMQUE CITO TRADITA, RAPTA CITO.

[a] He was a native of Sparta, and had been the friend and fellow-student of Marullus at Naples, whom he also emulated in the composition of Latin epigrams. "—uterque "epigrammatum Poeta," says Giraldi, "sed Rhallo Ma- "rullus cultior argutiorque, Marullo Rhallus fortunatior, "quippe qui a Leone X. his mensibus Cretensium sit pon- "tificatu honestatus." *Gir. de Poet. suor. temp.* Politiano denominates him "Græcus homo sed latinis literis adprime "excultus." *Miscel. c.* lxxiii. *Hodius, de Græc. illust. p.* 293.

[b] *Valer. de Literat. infel. lib.* i. *p.* 16. *Jovius, in Iecritt. p.* 63.

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with the most celebrated scholars of the age,[c] yet the munificence of the pope seems not to have been inferiour to the pretensions of the poet. In fact, those writers, always in search of the marvellous, are frequently obliged to resort to the doubtful or the false, in order to complete their literary wonders; which, if true, would be sufficient to deter posterity from those studies, that, according to their representation, can only terminate in disappointment, poverty, and disgrace.

Dedication of the works of Plato to Leo X.

The before mentioned edition of the works of Plato was published in the month of September, 1513, and is allowed to have conferred great honour not only on the talents and diligence of Musurus, but on the professional abilities of Aldo; who has prefixed to it a dedication in prose to Leo X. in which that eminent printer refers in so particular a manner to the character of the pontiff, and to the expectations formed of him at this early period, as to render some parts of it peculiarly interesting. "It

[c] *Jovius, ubi sup.* Erasmus has noticed the great acquirements of Musurus in very favourable terms. "*Musurus* autem, ante senectutem periit, posteaquam ex benignitate *Leonis* cœperat esse archiepiscopus. Vir natione Græcus, nimirum *Cretensis;* sed latinæ linguæ usque ad miraculum doctus, quod vix ulli Græco contigit, præter Theodorum Gazam, & Joannem Lascarem, qui adhuc in vivis est." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xxiii. *Ep.* 5.

"It is an ancient proverb, most holy father," says he, "that when the head aches, all the members suffer. If this be true, as to the chief part "of the human body, it is still more so with respect to the manners and conduct of those princes "and great men, who are, as it were, the head of "the people. It has been shown, by long experience, that such as the governours are, such are "the subjects; and that whatever the former propose for their imitation, the latter are also eager "to copy. On this account your elevation to the "pontificate was regarded with such satisfaction "by all Christians, that they did not hesitate to "congratulate each other on the cessation of those "evils by which we have been so long afflicted, "and on the return of the blessings which distinguished the golden age. We have, said they, "obtained a prince, a pontiff, and a father, such "as we have long wished, and of whose assistance, "in these times, we stand in the greatest need. "This I have myself heard repeated from all quarters. Nor is their confidence unfounded; for "many things concur to show, that you will fulfil "their wishes. First, it may truly be observed, "that even from your infancy, until your arrival "at the pontificate, your life and conduct have "been pious and irreproachable. In the next "place, the family of *Medici* is the nursery of "eminent men. From this stock, sprung (not to "speak of others) your excellent father Lorenzo; "a man endowed with such prudence, as whilst

"he

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" he lived, to have preserved the tranquillity not
" only of his own country, but of all Italy. That
" his life had still been prolonged is my earnest
" wish; for, in that case, the war which broke out
" in Italy soon after his death, and which now rages
" in that country, and in consequence throughout
" all Europe, would either never have commenced,
" or if it had commenced, would, as is generally
" believed, have been speedily extinguished by
" him, by means of that authority and prudence
" which he so successfully exerted on many other
" occasions. O most deplorable event! O loss,
" ever to be regretted and lamented! One con-
" solation, however, remains to us; that as these
" dreadful commotions began soon after the death
" of your father, so by the elevation of you, his
" son, to the dignity of supreme pontiff, they will,
" by your labours and your care, be extinguished.
" In the third place, when I advert to your time
" of life, and consider that in your elevation to
" the pontificate, when you had not attained your
" thirty-eighth year, you were preferred to so many
" respectable fathers and venerable prelates, it
" seems to me to manifest the divine interposition.
" For as there was much to be done in correcting
" the affairs of the Christian church, and reforming
" the morals of those who reside in every part of
" the world, the task required a long life; and
" God has, therefore, chosen you, a young man
" of unimpeachable conduct and morals, to fulfil,
" by long services, this important task, without
" being

" being disheartened by labour, or discouraged by " difficulties.

" Brief are the hours of rest the man must share,
" On whom a nation casts its weight of care."

Aldo then adverts to the extension of the Christian territory by the discoveries of Emanuel, king of Portugal, in the east; after which, returning to his immediate subject, he thus proceeds: " Nor " does less honour await you, holy father, from " the restoration of literature, and the supplying " learned men of the present and future ages with " valuable books for the promotion of liberal arts " and discipline. This has in former times been " attempted by many, not only among the Greeks " and Latins, but in other nations; and the good " effects of their labours have secured immortality " to their names. It has also been done in later " days, both by those in private stations, and by " supreme pontiffs and illustrious sovereigns. Not " to refer to others, how greatly was literature " promoted by the labours of Nicholas V. How " greatly, too, by your father Lorenzo! By whose " assiduity, had they enjoyed a longer life, many " works would certainly have been preserved which " are now lost, and those which we possess, would " have been rendered much more correct. It re- " mains, therefore, for you, the great successour " of the one, and the worthy son of the other, to " complete that which they were, by a premature " death, prevented from accomplishing." This

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excellent and indefatigable artist then refers to his own labours. "This stone," says he, "I have "long endeavoured to roll; in which attempt I "seem to myself another Sisyphus; not having "yet been able to reach the top of the hill. Some "learned men consider me, indeed, rather as a "Hercules; because, unmindful of difficulties and "dangers, I have rendered greater services to the "cause of letters, than any other person for many "ages past. This has so far entitled me to their "esteem, that both in person and by letter, they "almost weary me with their commendations; "*sed ego non credulus illis;* nor in truth have I "ever yet published a book which has pleased "myself. Such is the regard which I bear to lite-"rature, that I wish to render those books which "are intended for the use of the learned, not only "as correct, but as beautiful as possible. On this "account, if there be an errour, although ever so "trivial, occasioned by my own oversight, or by "that of those who assist me in the task of correc-"tion, although *opere in magno fas est obrepere "somnum*, for these works are not the labour of a "day, but of many years, without rest or inter-"mission, yet so greatly do I regret these errours, "that I would gladly expunge each of them at "the expense of a piece of gold."

Leo was neither unacquainted with the merits of Aldo, nor insensible to his commendations; the former of which he acknowledged, and the latter of

of which he repaid, by a papal bull, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of November, 1513. He there notices the strenuous exertions and great expenses of Aldo, during many years, in the cause of literature; particularly in the printing Greek and Latin books with metal types, which he observes are so elegantly executed, as to appear to be written with a pen. He then grants to him an exclusive privilege, for fifteen years, of reprinting and publishing all Greek and Latin books which he had already printed or might afterwards print, in types discovered by himself, as well as for the use of the *cursive*, or Italick type, of which he was the inventor. These concessions he secures to him, by denouncing not only heavy pecuniary penalties, but also the sentence of excommunication against all such as should encroach upon his privileges; recommending to him, however, to sell his books at a reasonable price, of which he declares that he has the fullest confidence, from the integrity and obedience of the printer.[d]

Leo grants to Aldo a privilege for publishing the Greek and Roman authors.

The

[d] Fabroni, after noticing this privilege granted by Leo to Aldo, adds, "Ut vero gratum animum suum Aldus Pon-"tifici declararet, eidem nuncupavit editionem Platonis, "etc." From which it would seem as if the dedication of Plato to Leo X. was addressed to him by Aldus, in consequence of this favour; the reverse of which seems, however, to have been the fact, as the dedication bears date in September, and the privilege in November, 1513. This privilege

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Greek press established by Leo X. at Rome, and works there published.

The restoration of the Roman academy, and the institution of the Greek seminary in Rome, speedily led the way to the establishment of a press for printing Greek books in that city; the superintendence of which was also intrusted to Lascar, who himself corrected the works which issued from it. His abilities in this province had already been sufficiently evinced by his edition of the Greek *Anthologia*, printed in capital letters at Florence, in the year 1494, and inscribed by him to Piero de' Medici; and by that of Callimachus, printed in capitals at the same place, and most probably about the same period. It has also been conjectured, that for several other works, which about the same time issued from the press of Lorenzo Francesco de Alopa, the world is indebted to the industry of the same distinguished scholar.[c] As the Roman press was more particularly intended to promote

privilege was published by Aldo in his edition of the Commentaries of Nicolo Perotti, entitled CORNUCOPIÆ. *Ven.* 1513. *fo.*

[c] Of these, Maittaire has enumerated, besides the *Anthologia* and *Callimachus*, an edition of four of the tragedies of Euripides, the *Gnomæ Monostichoi*, and the *Argonauticks* of *Apollonius Rhodius*; which are all the works he had met with printed in capitals. *Annal. Typog.* i. 101. But it must be observed, that some of them were printed after the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, and when it is probable that Lascar had quitted that city to accompany Charles VIII. on his return to France.

mote the objects of the Greek seminary, and as the works of Homer, which had been splendidly published at Florence, in the year 1488, were unaccompanied by any commentary, it was thought expedient to print the ancient Greek Scholia on that first of poets, which was accordingly published in the year 1517; [f] and was followed in the year 1518, by the Scholia on the tragedies of Sophocles, which then also for the first time issued from the press. [g] In these works the citations from the text

[f] This work appeared with the following title, "Lectori. HOMERI INTERPRES PERVETUSTUS *infinitis propemodum malignitate temporum laceratus plagis, Mediceum olim Quirinalis, jam Caballini montis Gymnasium adii; ibique haud parvo negotio in integrum restitutus, purus nitidusque ac mille fratribus auctus matris fœcundissimæ chalcographorum artis beneficio in lucem prodeo; parentis generosæ studiorum professionis penetralia reserans. Debes id quoque, lector candide,* LEONI X. PONTIFICI MAXIMO, *cujus providentia ac benignitate Gymnasium nuper institutum viget, frugisque bonæ testimonium perhibens bona sua studiosis perquam liberaliter impertit.*"

[g] COMMENTARII *in septem Tragedias Sophoclis, quæ ex aliis ejus compluribus solæ superfuerunt: opus exactissimum rarissimumque in* GYMNASIO MEDICEO *Caballini montis a* LEONE X. PONTIFICE MAXIMO *constituto, recognitum repurgatumque, &c.* Besides the before mentioned works, an edition of Porphyrius was published from the same press, entitled, PORPHYRII OPUSCULA *dicuntur* LEONIS X. PONTIFICIS MAXIMI *beneficio e tenebris eruta, impressaque in* GYMNASIO MEDICEO *ad Caballinum montem,* with other pieces illustrating

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text are printed in capitals, in order to distinguish them from the comment, and facilitate the use of the books to the pupils. [h]

Agostini Chigi, a merchant at Rome, a patron of literature and arts.

The efforts of Leo X. for the promotion of liberal studies, were emulated by many persons of rank and opulence; but by no one with greater munificence and success, than by a merchant, who had for some time resided at Rome, and who deserves more particular commemoration in the annals both of literature and of art, than he has hitherto obtained. Agostino *Chisi*, *Chigi*, or *Ghisi*, as he is variously named, was a native of Siena, who having frequent occasion, in his mercantile concerns, to resort to Rome, at length fixed his abode there, and erected for himself a splendid mansion in the *Transtevere*, which he decorated with works in painting and sculpture, by the greatest artists of the time. [i] He had long been considered as the wealthiest merchant in Italy, [j] and on

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illustrating the writings of Homer. *v. Hod. de Græc. illustr. p.* 256.

[h] *Maittaire, Ann. Typ. vol.* i. *p.* 101.

[i] *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori. passim.* This mansion was afterwards purchased by the family of the Farnese, to whom it yet belongs, and is known by the name of the *Farnesina*.

[j] He is denominated, in a letter from Leonardo da Porto,

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on the expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples, had advanced, for the use of that monarch, a considerable sum of money, which, however, there is reason to believe he had not the good fortune to recover. That he carried on an extensive intercourse with foreign parts may be conjectured from the applications made on his behalf to the French court, for the liberation of certain ships belonging to him, which had been captured, during the contests between Louis XII. and Julius II. and detained in the ports of France.[k] On the rejoicings which had taken place on the procession of Leo X. to the Lateran, Agostino exceeded, in the magnificence and taste of the devices exhibited in honour of the pontiff, every other individual in Rome. A great part of his wealth was supposed to have arisen from his having rented, under Julius II. the mines of salt and of allum, belonging to the Roman see. On the elevation of Leo X. the profits of the latter had been granted to Lorenzo, the nephew of the pontiff; but after a long negotiation between him and Agostino, in which the latter appears to have conducted himself with great propriety, and even liberality, the

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Porto, to Antonio Savorgnano, in the year 1511. "Agos-
" tino Ghisi, mercante più ricco, che alcuno altro d'Italia."
Lettere di Principi. v. i. *fo.* 6. *b.*

[k] *Lettere di Principi. v.* i. *fo.* 19.

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the contract with him, as sole vender of this article, was renewed. From this period we find him frequently mentioned in the confidential correspondence of the Medici family, as their associate and friend. Of the liberal encouragement which he afforded to the professors of painting, sculpture, and every other branch of art, and of the partiality and attachment with which he was regarded by them, instances will occur to our future notice; but the professors of literature were not without their share of his attention; and whilst Leo X. was employing all his efforts for the restoration of ancient learning, Agostino had devoted himself to the same object, in a manner which confers great honour on his memory. Among those learned men whom he distinguished by his particular favour, was Cornelio Benigno, of Viterbo,[1] who united to a sound critical judgment, an intimate acquaintance with the Greek tongue, and had before joined with a few other eminent scholars in

Cornelio Benigno, of Viterbo.

[1] "Optimè literatus fuit Cornelius Benignus Viterbien-"sis, neque ipse prosperâ satis fortunâ usus, postea enim "quam *Augustinum Gysium*, Senensem, *Mæcenatum suum* "apud quem in honore fuerat, amisit, vitam inde nullo "solatio egit." *Valer de Literator. infel. lib.* ii. *p.* 150. If we may believe this author, who has aspersed or ridiculed most of the learned men of his time, Cornelio, at an advanced age, attempted to console himself by paying his addresses to a lady of rank, and being repulsed, died of love!—*Ibid.*

in revising and correcting the geographical work of Ptolemeus, which was published at Rome, in the year 1507. Under the patronage of Chigi, Cornelio undertook to superintend an edition of the writings of Pindar, accompanied by the Greek Scholia. The printer whose assistance they had recourse to on this occasion, was Zaccaria Calliergo, a native of Crete, who had formerly resided at Venice, and obtained considerable applause by his edition of the great Etymological Dictionary of the Greek language, which he published there by the assistance of Musurus, in the year 1499. [m] A printing press was established in the house of Agostino; and at his expense, and by the labour of his learned associates, a fine edition in quarto of the works of Pindar, was published in the month of August, 1515, which is allowed to be executed with great accuracy; and, as well on account of the beauty of the workmanship, as of the Scholia by which it was accompanied, and which were now for the first time printed, is even preferred to the first edition of the same author, given by Aldo two years before. By this publication, Agostino anticipated the pontiff in the introduction of the Greek typography, and produced the first book which had been printed in that language at Rome. To the same press we are also indebted

Greek press of Zaccaria Calliergo.

[m] *Fabricii, Bib. Græc.* x. 12, 21.

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indebted for a correct edition of the Idyllia, and Epigrams of Theocritus, which appeared in the year 1516, and which has been resorted to by a learned modern editor, as the most accurate and complete among the early editions of that charming author; and as that on which he chiefly relied for the correction of those errours, which the inattention or inaccuracy of subsequent printers had introduced. [n] The

[n] This edition of Calliergo is denominated by the celebrated Reiske, in his Theocritus, *Vien. & Leips.* 1765. "Editio præstantissima, et exemplar omnium insecutarum; "nisi si quid Henricus Stephanus ab hoc exemplo discessit. Explevit enim Zacharias Aldinæ lacunas, & non "pauca carmina bucolicorum græcorum, quæ ad Aldi manus non pervenerant addidit; neque fuit post Zachariam "qui Theocritum nova quadam accessione locupletaret," &c. *In præf. p.* 12.

The same learned editor afterwards adds, "Quod si essem copiis & usu vetustorum librorum et peritiæ rerum "in literis, seculis xv. et xvi. gestarum instructior, otioque "præterea si abundarem, erat hic commodus locus de typographia a Zacharia Calliergo Romæ adornata, et de libris "ab eo profectis, item de Cornelio Benigno, Viterbiense "qui sumptus huic editioni erogasse dicitur, nec non de "numero carminum Theocritiorum disputandi," &c. *Ib. p.* 14.

It is surprising, that the indefatigable Tiraboschi, should not only have omitted to notice the efforts of Leo X. and of his coadjutors and competitors, in their attempts to establish a Greek typography in Rome, but should expressly have attributed its introduction to the liberality of the cardinals Marcello Cervini, and Alessandro Farnese about

The labours of Lascar, of Musurus, and other native Greeks, in diffusing the study of the Greek language throughout Italy, were rivalled, if not surpassed, by several learned Italians, who had devoted themselves chiefly to this department of literature, and shared with them in the esteem and the favour of the supreme pontiff. Among these, one of the most distinguished was Guarino, a native of Favera, in the state of Camerino, whence he assumed the surname of *Favorino;* and having, in compliance with the custom of the Italian scholars, transformed his name of Guarino into the more classical appellation of *Varino*, he sometimes, styled himself *Varinus Favorinus*, or *Phavorinus;* and at others, *Varino Camerti.* The period of his birth is placed by a well informed writer, some years after the middle of the fifteenth century.[o] In acquiring a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he had the good fortune to obtain the instructions of Politiano, who has left, in one of his letters, an honourable testimony of the proficiency of his pupil;[p] of the opportunities thus afforded

Greek literature promoted by learned Italians.

Varino Camerti.

about the year 1539, whilst such decisive monuments remain of its commencement and success under the auspices of Leo X. at a much earlier period. *v. Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 183. *Maittaire, Ann. Typ. in dedicat.*

[o] *Zeno. Giornale d'Italia*, xix. 91.

[p] "Varinus, civis tuus, auditor meus, ad summum "linguæ

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afforded him, he availed himself with such diligence, that very few, even of the Greeks themselves, could equal him in the knowledge of that language. During his residence in Florence, he appears to have been particularly devoted to the service of the Medici family, and is said, although perhaps erroneously, to have given instructions, as preceptor, to Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X.[q] He also formed an intimacy there with Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. which continued uninterrupted until the death of that pontiff. The first publication of Varino, was a collection of grammatical tracts in the Greek language, selected with incredible labour from the remains of thirty-four

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"linguæ utriusque fastigium pleno gradu contendit; sic "ut inter doctos jam conspicuus digito monstretur." *Pol. Ep. lib.* vii. *Ep.* 2. *ad Mac. Mutium.* Zeno, on the authority of Ughelli, and the erroneous construction of the sepulchral inscription of Varino, had asserted, that he also received instructions from Giovanni Lascar. *Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 92. But he afterwards corrected this errour. *Ibid.* xx. 277.

[q] He is called, in one of the inscriptions on his tomb, Τῆς Μεδίκης οἰκίας τρόφιμον which may be admitted as a proof, that he was educated in the family of the Medici; but not that he acted as a preceptor there; nor has Zeno, who mentions it, adduced any authority to this effect. *Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 92. It is not indeed probable, that whilst Politiano was yet living, the education of the brothers of the Medici would be transferred from him to one of his pupils.

four ancient grammarians, whose names are prefixed to the work.[r] In this compilation he was assisted by Carlo Antinori, another disciple of Politiano

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[r] Under the following title—THESAURUS CORNUCOPIÆ ET HORTI ADONIDIS, which the learned printer, in his preface, thus explains; "Ecce habetis opus oppido "quem utile et necessarium, quem Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας, quem "Κῆπος Ἀδώνιδος quem jure THESAURUM appellaverim. In "eo enim ferè omnia reposita sunt quæ desiderare quis "possit ad perfectam absolutamque cognitionem literarum "græcarum, et earum præcipue quæ leguntur apud poetas; "qui verba variis figuris ac linguis, ita sæpe immutant, ut "facilius sit Nili caput quam alicujus temporis thema aut "principium invenire. Sed hoc libro quam facillima facta "sunt omnia," &c. This edition, which Zeno says, is "molto rara, e però notissima a pochi," is preceded by the Latin preface of Aldo, after which follows the letter of Politiano before mentioned, which is not found in the general collection of his works. The ensuing page contains four Greek epigrams, in praise of the author, by Politiano, Aristobolo Apostolo, Scipione Carteromaco, and Aldo; and these are succeeded by two epistles in Greek, the one from Carteromaco to Varino, and the other from Varino to Piero de' Medici, as a dedication of the work; which he inscribes to him as an acknowledgment of the benefits which he had himself received, in having been permitted to attend with the young men of the family of Antinori, on the instructions of Politiano. At the close of the volume we read,

"*Venetiis in domo Aldi Romani, summâ cura laboréque*
"*præmagno, Mense Augusto* M. IIII. D. *Ab. ill. Senatu*
"*V. concessum est ne quis,*" &c. *ut in ceteris. Vale qui*
"*legeris.*"

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Politiano, and even by Politiano himself, who also honoured him with a recommendatory letter, and a Greek epigram to be prefixed to the volume.[s] The publication was undertaken by Aldo Manuzio, in which he was assisted by the celebrated Urbano Valeriano, who will occur to our future notice, as another successful promoter of Grecian literature. The first edition of this work made its appearance in the year 1496,[t] and is justly considered as one of the finest productions of the Aldine press. Succeeding grammarians have adverted to this collection in terms of approbation, and the learned Budeus is said to have made considerable use of it in his commentaries on the Greek tongue.[u] It was, however, reserved for the indefatigable Henry Stephens, to complete the building of which Varino had

His Thesaurus Cornucopiæ.

[s] "Primus labor in eo" (libro) says Aldo in his preface, "fuit Guarini Camertis, et Caroli Antenorei Florentini; "hominum multi studii, ac in Græcarum literarum lec- "tione frequentium.——Hi simul ex Eustathio, Etymolo- "gico, et aliis dignis Grammaticis accepere hæc canonis- "mata, digessereque per ordinem literarum; nec sine "adjumento et consilio Angeli Politiani, viri summo inge- "nio ac impense docti." *Ald. in præf.*

[t] "Secundus vero labor meus fuit; qui ea omnia re- "cognovi, non parvo labore cum iis conferens unde ex- "cerpta voluminibus fuerant. Multa enim addidi; pluri- "ma immutavi, adjuvante interdum Urbano divi Francisci "fratre optimo." &c. *Ib.*

[u] *Zeno, Giorn d' Italia*, xix. 108.

had laid the foundation; which he did in his *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ*, which is considered as the most complete body of grammatical knowledge extant in any language, but for the title and idea of which he appears to have been indebted to Varino.

Is appointed librarian to the Medici family and bishop of Nocera.

Having engaged in an ecclesiastical life, and entered into the order of Benedictines, Varino was, in the year 1508, nominated by Julius II. archdeacon of Nocera,[v] and in 1512, was intrusted by Leo X. then the cardinal de' Medici, with the superintendence of his private library, an office which he continued to enjoy after the elevation of that pontiff to the supreme dignity.[w] The collection made by the cardinal in Rome, had, in the year 1508, been enriched by the addition of the library formed by the assiduity of his ancestors in Florence, and which, after the expulsion of his family in 1494, had been sold, as confiscated property, to the convent of S. Marco for three thousand gold ducats. From the monks of this convent

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[v] *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia*, xix. 93.

[w] "Consulam *Varinum Camertem, qui bibliothecæ nostræ præest*, hominem literatissimum et humanissimum, "aut *Scipionem Carteromachum* familiarem etiam nostrum." In these words Giuliano de' Medici is represented as addressing his brother Giovanni. *v. Peiero Alcyonio, de Exsilio, lib.* ii. *p.* 179. *ap. Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia*, xix. 93.

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convent who either were, or pretended to be, in want of money to discharge their debts, the cardinal afterwards purchased the same on reasonable terms, and the library was conveyed to Rome,[x] where, however, it was always kept distinct from that of the Vatican, and was considered as the the peculiar collection of the Medici family. The high esteem in which Varino was held by this family, sufficiently appears in the secret correspondence which was maintained at this period between Rome and Florence, where he is generally mentioned by the friendly appellation of *Guerino nostro*. In the year 1514, the general of the rich monastery

[x] "Anno 1508, cum propter supradicta ædificia, quæ "cuncta impensis Conventûs extructa sunt, Conventus "magna æris alieni quantitate gravaretur, et exsolvendi "tempus instaret, nec aliunde præberetur facultas, decreve- "runt tandem Prior et Patres discreti, e nobilissima Medi- "ceorum bibliotheca hujusmodi pecunias extrahere, quam "nuper pretio trium millium ducatorum a Syndicis Rebel- "lium, ut supra meminimus, comparaverat Conventus "noster, et pro qua plurimos labores Fratres subierant, "quam cum R. D. Dominus Joannes Medices, Magni "Laurentii filius, et S. R. E. Cardinalis, cujus nuper pa- "terna hæreditas fuerat, recuperare plurimum inhiaret, "ipsi de permissione Dominationis Florentinæ venunda- "rent, pretio . . . ducatorum. atque in hunc modum "Bibliotheca illa Romam ad ipsum R. Dominum Cardi- "nalem ad vecta; de quibus in actis hujus coventus plenius "et clarius continetur." *Rob. de Galliano, S. Marci Cœnob.* "*alumn. apt. Fabr. vita Leon.* x. *in not.* 19. *p.* 265.

stery of Vallombrosa, having been accused of misconduct in his office, was committed, by order of the pope, to the castle of S. Angelo; where, on being threatened with the question, according to the detestable practice of the times, when the cord was applied to draw him up, he confessed that he had been guilty of some errours, one of which, it seems, was his having caused the handle of a razor to be adored as a piece of the wood of the cross. The real offence of the general appears, however, to have consisted in his having been an adversary to the Medici family, and in having selected his orisons from the Canticles, in such a manner as to pray for their destruction. His removal from his office was determined upon, and it was proposed that Varino should succeed him in this respectable and lucrative situation; but this not taking effect, the pope, in the month of July following, nominated Varino to the bishoprick of Nocera, which diocese he governed with great credit during upwards of twenty-three years. In the same correspondence many instances occur of the respect paid to his opinion on subjects of literature, and concerning the manuscripts of ancient authors. The high estimation in which he was held by the pontiff, caused him also to be frequently resorted to by those who wished to obtain the favours of the Roman see; and it was chiefly by his means that Gianmaria Varani, Lord of Camerino, was honoured by the pope with the title of the first duke of that territory, by a decree which

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passed the consistory, on the thirtieth day of April, 1515.[y] The cardinal Innocenzio Cibò was deputed from Rome to place the ducal diadem on the head of Gianmaria, in which embassy he was attended by two bishops, one of whom was Varino, who had the honour of celebrating mass on the occasion, and of investing the duke with the insignia of his new rank, and also with those of prefect of Rome, and count of Sinigaglia.[z]

The next publication of Varino, was a translation into Latin of the apothegms of various Greek authors, collected by Stobeus, which he dedicated to Leo X. and printed at Rome, in the year 1517.[a] Of

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[y] On this occasion, Varani struck a medal in honour of Leo X. with the arms of Camerino on one side, and on the reverse, a laurel wreath, with the motto, "LEONIS X. "CULTUI."

[z] *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia*, xix. 94.

[a] "APOPHTHEGMATA *ex variis autoribus per* JOANNEM "STOBÆUM *collecta*, VARINO FAVORINO *interprete*."

At the close,

"*Impressum Romæ per Jacobum Mazochium, die* XXVII. "*Men. Novemb.* M.D.XVII." *in 4to.*

In the dedication, Varino thus addresses the pope: "Hunc igitur, B. P. tuo auspicio publicum accipere volui; "ut qui tibi jampridem meas operas, meque totum dedi- "derim, mea quoque studia accepta referam." *Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xix. 110.

Of this work another edition was published at Rome, in 1519, under a very different title;[b] and this was reprinted at Cracow, in 1529, with a Latin epigram in praise of the author, by a learned native of Poland.[c]

His Greek Dictionary under the name of Phavorinus.

But the great work by which Varino is known to the present times, and which will always secure to him an honourable rank among the promoters of Grecian literature, is his Greek dictionary, which, after the labour of many years, was completed by him in the life time of Leo X. who granted him a privilege for its publication; notwithstanding which, it did not make its appearance until the pontificate of his successour Adrian VI. in

[b] VARINI CAMERTIS *Apophthegmata, ad bene beateque vivendum mire conducentia, nuper ex lympidissimo Græcorum fonte in latinum fideliter conversa, et longe antea impressis castigatiora*, &c.

At the close,

Romæ in ædibus Jacobi Mazochii, die xix. *mensis Decembris*, M.D.XIX. 8vo. *Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xix. 111.

[c] "Lector candide, si cupis repente,
"Divina quasi virgula vocatus,
"Moralem Sophiam tibi parare,
"Hoc parvi moneo legas libelli,
"E græco tibi quod bonus VARINUS
"Traduxit, lepide simul latine."

Wences. Sobeslaviense. Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital. xix. 112.

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in the year 1523, when it was published at Rome, from the press of Zaccaria Calliergo.[d] In this department Varino had indeed been preceded by Giovanni Crastone, a Carmelite monk, but the production of this ecclesiastick is so defective, that Varino is ranked as the first who favoured the learned world with a useful and authentick lexicon. The merit of this performance is fully confirmed by the authority of the celebrated Henry Stephens, in his *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ;* not indeed in express terms, for he has not even mentioned the labours of his industrious predecessor; but by the more unequivocal circumstance of his having transcribed many parts of the volume published by Varino, and inserted them in his own more extensive work.[e] The dictionary of Varino was, on its publication, dedicated by him to Giulio, cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Clement VIII. Another

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[d] "MAGNUM AC PERUTILE DICTIONARIUM *quod quidem* "VARINUS PHAVORINUS CAMERS, *Nucerinus Episcopus,* "*ex multis variisque auctoribus in ordinem alphabeti colle-* "*git.*"

"LEONIS X. P. M. literis cautum est, ne quis possit "hoc Varini Phavorini Episcopi Nucerini Magnum Dic- "tionarium, impressum per Zachariam Calliergi Creten- "sem, per decennium imprimere aut venundare, sub pœna "excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, et amissionis libro- "rum." *Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xix. 118.

[e] *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia,* xix. *p.* 114.

Another edition was printed at Basil, in the year 1538;[f] and notwithstanding the various works of the same nature which have since been published, the authors of which have availed themselves, without scruple, of the labours of Varino, his dictionary was again reprinted at Venice, in the year 1712, by Antonio Bartoli, in a correct and elegant manner,[g] and yet retains its rank among those useful and laborious compilations, of which it set the first laudable example.[h]

Scipione Forteguerra, called Carteromachus.

Another eminent Italian scholar, who at this period distinguished himself by his proficiency in Greek literature, was Scipione Forteguerra, of Pistoja,

[f] This edition was superintended by the celebrated Camerarius, and inscribed by him to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg. It was printed at the press of *Robertus Cheimerinus*, or Robert Winter, at Basil, under the following title:

Dictionarium VARINI PHAVORINI CAMERTIS, *Nucerini Episcopi, magnum illud ac perutile, multis variisque ex autoribus collectum, totius linguæ Græcæ commentarius. Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xix. 119.

[g] A full account of this edition is given by *Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xix. 89.

[h] The various appellations assumed by Varino, have misled the French bibliographer de Bure, who has, in the general Index of his work, quoted *Guarino Camerti*, the author of the Thesaurus Cornucopiæ, and *Varino Phavorino*, the compiler of the Greek Lexicon, as distinct authors.

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toja, better known by his scholastick appellation of *Carteromachus*, by which he chose to express his family name, in his favourite language. His origin was respectable, and his father had several times held the supreme magistracy of his native place. He was born in the year 1467, and received the rudiments of his education at Pistoia, whence he afterwards removed to Rome;[i] but it was in the city of Florence, and under the directions of Politiano, that he acquired that thorough knowledge of the Greek language, on which his reputation is founded. On this occasion he was the fellow-student of Varino, and being associated with the Antenori, and other young men of rank, was allowed to receive instructions in the family of the Medici. From Florence he transferred his residence to Padua, whence he wrote, in the month of April, 1493, to his preceptor Politiano, with whom, as appears from his letter, he still maintained the most friendly intimacy.[j] About the year 1500, he was invited by the senate of Venice to

[i] *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia*, xx. 279. xxvi. 320.

[j] "Pudet equidem, *Politiane, præceptor optime*, eam "potissimum expectasse ad te scribendi occasionem, unde "necessitudinis potius, quam voluntatis aut officii ratio "appareret. Nam cum debuerim initio statim quo huc "profectus sum, scribere ad te, ut est amici officium, ac "multo magis *discipuli*, ego id prætermisi." &c. *Inter Pol. Ep. lib.* xii. *Ep.* 22.

to give instructions in the Greek language in that city. At this period he had acquired such credit by his proficiency in that tongue, that we are assured that the Greeks themselves acknowledged his superiority, even in their native language.[k] On the elevation of Julius II. Scipione was called to Rome by that pontiff, and by him appointed to attend as preceptor and companion on his nephew, the cardinal Galeotto della Rovere, to whom Scipione soon afterwards inscribed an oration of Aristides, which he translated from the Greek.[l] From the intimacy which subsisted between Galeotto and the cardinal de' Medici, it may be presumed, that Scipione at this period renewed that friendship with the latter, which had been formed when they were fellow-students at Florence. During his attendance on Galeotto, he met at Bologna with the celebrated Erasmus, who has described him as a man of deep and consummate erudition, but so remote from all ostentation, that unless called forth by controversy, no one would have suspected him to have been possessed of such accomplishments. The acquaintance which these distinguished scholars then contracted, was ripened into more particular

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k "—— tametsi Latinus est, attamen vel Græci ipsi in "suæ linguæ cognitione et subtilitate, primas deferunt." *P. Alcyon. de Exsilio. apt. Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xx. 282.

l Published from the Aldine press, with the Augustine Historians, in the year 1519. *Zeno, Giorn.* xxiv. 324.

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cular friendship when they met together at Rome.[m] On the untimely death of Galeotto in the year 1508, Scipione attached himself to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia; after whose assassination at Ravenna, by the duke of Urbino, in the year 1511, he returned to Rome, and enjoyed the society of the few men of learning then resident there, and particularly of Angelo Colocci. If we may credit an eminent Italian critick, Scipione was indebted to Colocci, for his introduction to the friendship of the cardinal de Medici; but we have already found sufficient reason to conclude, that their acquaintance had commenced at a much earlier period;[n] and it is certain, that before the elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate, Scipione was not only ranked among his friends, but resided with him under his roof.[o]

After

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[m] "*Bononiæ* primùm videre contigit *Scipionem Carteromachum*, reconditæ et absolutæ eruditionis hominem; sed usque adeo alienum ab ostentatione, ut ni provocâsses, jurâsses esse literarum ignarum. Cum eo pòst *Romæ* fuit mihi propior familiaritas." *Erasm. Epi. lib.* 23. *ep.* 5.

[n] "Sappiamo bene, per la testimonianza del Valeriano, che Scipione, per mezzo del Colocci, venne in conoscenza, che è lo stesso che dire in istima, del cardinale Giovanni de' Medici," &c. *Zeno, Giornal. d'Ital.* xx 285. In this account the modern writer appears not to have consulted the authority which he has cited, with his usual accuracy. *v. Valer. de Literat. infel. in art. Scip. Carterom. p.* 119.

[o] Pet. Alcyonius, in his book "*de Exsilio*" introduces Giulio

After that fortunate event, Leo is said to have appointed Scipione to direct the studies of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, then archbishop elect of Florence,[p] but it is scarcely probable, that Leo would have interfered with the studies of his relation, who was then of mature age and fully competent to choose his own associates and instructers. Scipione had, however, reason to flatter himself, that from the liberality of such a pontiff, he should receive the just remuneration of his talents and his services; nor is it likely, that his expectations would have been defrauded, had not his premature death prevented his obtaining the full reward of his merits. The precise time when this event happened, has been a subject of doubt; but from the most authentick account, founded on the records of his family, it appears

Giulio de' Medici, as addressing himself to the cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Leo. X. and designating Carteromaco by the name of *Familiaris noster*. "Multos item Græca "literatura insignes viros *domi* habes, ad quorum emula- "tionem non desiisti cum omni genere exercitationis, tum "maxime stylo augere partam eloquentiam; atque inter "hos maxime eminet *Scipio Carteromachus*; quem honori- "ficentissime, pro tua natura, liberalissimeque tractas, "cum præsertim videas illum, quamquam Latinum, sic "loqui et scribere, ut solus post veterum græcorum, "Platonis, Isocratis, Demosthenis, & Strabonis interitum, "orbæ eloquentiæ tutor relictus videatur." *Giorn. d'Italia*, xx. 287.

[p] *Valerian. de Literator. infel. p.* 119.

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appears that he died at Pistoia, about six months after the accession of Leo X. or in the month of October, 1513. In consequence of his untimely fate, Scipione is indebted for his literary reputation, rather to the numerous commendations of his contemporaries and friends, than to his own writings, many of which are said to have been dispersed at his death, and usurped by others into whose hands they had fallen. [q] Among those which remain, is his oration in praise of Grecian literature, recited by him before a full and noble audience at Venice, in 1504, and published from the press of Aldo in the same year; [r] besides which, several epigrams in Greek and Latin, and a few Italian compositions, are extant in the publications of the times. [s] "It might be truly observed of him," says Valeriano, "that there "was nothing written before his time which he "had

[q] Giraldi thus adverts to his death: "per hæc nostra "tempora fuit Pistoriensis Scipio Carteromachus, qui "Græce et Latine scivit, nec infans fuit: interceptus ille "ante diem, quæ utraque lingua inchoata promiserat, haud "plane perfecit; multum quidem eo moriente amisimus." *Girald. de Poetis. ap. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* xx. 289.

[r] Reprinted by Frobenius, at Basil, in 1517, and also prefixed, by the learned Henry Stephens, to his *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ.*

[s] These are particularly indicated by Zeno, in his *Giorn. d'Ital.* xx. 294, &c.

"had not read; nothing that he had read, which "he did not convert to the utility of others."[t] During his residence at Venice, he frequently assisted in correcting the editions of the ancient authors published by Aldo, who has mentioned him in several of his publications, in terms of high commendation and esteem.[u] He also united with Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo, and other learned men, in correcting the edition of the geographical works of Ptolomeus, printed at Rome, in 1507, which has before been noticed.

Fra Urbano Valeriano Bolzanio, of Belluno, has already been mentioned as one of the coadjutors of Varino and Aldo, in the publication of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ;* but the services which he rendered to Grecian literature by his subsequent labours, entitle him to more particular notice. He was born in the year 1440, and is said by his nephew, Piero Valeriano, to have been the earliest instructer of Leo X. in the knowledge of the Greek tongue.[v] Although an ecclesiastick of the order

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[t] *De Literator. infel. lib.* ii. *p.* 119.

[u] Particularly in the preface to his edition of Demosthenes, in 1504.

[v] "Secutus sum institutum Urbani Valeriani, patrui "mei, *qui primus Græcas literas docuerat Joannem, Claris-* "*simi Laurentii filium*, tunc protonotarium; is autem mox "Cardinalis

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order of S. Francesco, he quitted the walls of his monastery, with the laduable curiosity of visiting foreign parts; and having had an opportunity of accompanying Andrea Gritti, afterwards doge of Venice, on an embassy to Constantinople, he thence made an excursion through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and other countries; always travelling on foot, and diligently noting whatever appeared deserving of observation. [w] The disinterestedness of Urbano is strongly insisted on by his nephew Piero, who informs us, that he rather chose to suffer the inconveniences of poverty, than to receive a reward for those instructions which he was at all times ready to give, and that he always persevered in refusing those honours and dignities which Leo X. would gladly have conferred upon him. His activity, temperance, and

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"Cardinalis, post multa rerum molimina colludentisque "fortunæ varietates. ad *summum pontificatum evectus*; bre- "vique post tempore illustribus fratre, nepoteque desidera- "tis. cum ad prolem demum eorum fovendam animum "adjecisset, me delegit, qui, quam operam patruus meus "in eo olim erudiendo contulisset, eandem ego in illustres "Hippolytum et Alexandrum navandum susciperem." *Pier. Valerian. Dedicat. ad Hexamet. Giolit.* 1550.

[w] *Valerian, de Literat. infelic. lib.* ii. *p.* 166, who informs us, that Urbano travelled also into Sicily, where he twice ascended the mountain of Etna and looked down into its crater. *Ib.*

and placid disposition, secured to him a healthful old age, nor did he omit to make frequent excursions through Italy, until he was disqualified from these occupations by a fall in his garden, whilst he was pruning his trees.[x] His principal residence was at Venice, where he not only assisted Aldo Manuzio, in correcting the editions which he published of the ancient authors, but gave instructions in the Greek language to a great number of scholars; insomuch, that there was scarcely a person in Italy distinguished by his proficiency in that language, who had not at some time been his pupil.[y] His earnest desire of facilitating the knowledge of this language, induced him to undertake the composition of his grammar, which was the first attempt to explain in Latin the rules of the Greek tongue. This work was first printed in 1497,[z] and was received with such avidity

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[x] *Valerian. de Literat. infel. lib.* ii. *p.* 168. Urbano never required the use of a horse, except on one occasion, when he passed over the rocky road of Assisi, in his way to Rome, to kiss the feet of his former pupil, Leo X. *Ib.*

[y] Urbano died in the convent of S. Niccolo, at Venice, in the year 1524, and bequeathed to that convent his valuable library. His funeral oration, by Fr. Alberto da Castelfranco, was printed at Venice, in the same year, by Bernardino de' Vitali, in 4to. *Zeno. Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 104. *Note (a)*

[z] URBANI, GRAMMATICA GRÆCA. *Ven. ap. Aldum mense Januario, anno* 1497, 4to.

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ty, that Erasmus, on inquiring for it in the year 1499, found that not a copy of the impression remained unsold. [a]

The exertions of Leo X. were not, however, exclusively confined to the promotion of any one particular branch of literature. Soon after his elevation, he caused it to be publickly known, that he would give ample rewards to those who should procure for him manuscript copies of the works of any of the ancient Greek or Roman authors, and would, at his own expense, print and publish them with as much accuracy as possible. In consequence of this, the first five books of the annals of Tacitus, which Lipsius afterwards divided into six, and which had until that time existed only in manuscript, were brought from the abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, by Angelo Arcomboldo, who was remunerated by the pope with the liberal reward of 500 zechins. [b] Such of the writings of that

Leo obtains a more complete MS. of the works of Tacitus.

[a] "Grammaticam Græcam, summo studio vestigavi, "ut emptam tibi mitterem; sed jam utraque divendita "fuerat, et *Constantini* quæ dicitur, quæque *Urbani*." *Eras. Ep. ad Jacob. Tutorem.* 1499. De Bure had never seen a copy of this edition. *Bib. instr. No.* 2221. It was dedicated by Aldo to Giovan. Francesco Pico, nephew of Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula. *Maittaire, Ann. typ. vol.* i. *p.* 638. The Grammar of *Constantine Lascar* above mentioned, was wholly in Greek.

[b] *Brotier. Tacit. in præf. p.* 18. *opt. Ed. Par.* 1771.

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that eminent historian as had before been discovered, and which consisted of the last six books of his annals, and the first five books of his history, had been printed by Johannes de Spira, at Venice, about the year 1468, and several times reprinted at Rome and Venice. On obtaining this valuable copy, which besides comprehending the additional books, supplied considerable defects in those before published, Leo determined to give to the world as complete an edition as possible; for which purpose he intrusted the manuscript to the younger Filippo Beroaldo, with directions to correct the text, and to superintend the printing of it in an elegant and useful form. In order to reward the editor for his trouble on this occasion, Leo proposed to grant to him an exclusive privilege for the reprinting and sale of the work; and as the brief in which this privilege is conceded, contains a kind of justification on the part of the pontiff, for devoting so much of his attention to the promotion of profane learning, an extract from its preamble may not be inapplicable to the subject of our present inquiry.

Grants to Beroaldo a brief for its publication.

"Amongst the other objects of our attention, "since we have been raised by divine goodness to "the pontifical dignity, and devoted to the go- "vernment, and, as far as in us lies, to the ex- "tension of the Christian church, we have con- "sidered those pursuits as not the least important, "which lead to the promotion of literature and "useful

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" useful arts; for we have been accustomed even " from our early years to think, that nothing more " excellent or more useful has been given by the " Creator to mankind, if we except only the " knowledge, and true worship of himself, than " these studies, which not only lead to the orna- " ment and guidance of human life, but are ap- " plicable and useful to every particular situation; " in adversity consolatory, in prosperity pleasing " and honourable; insomuch, that without them, " we should be deprived of all the grace of life, " and all the polish of society. The security and " extension of these studies seem chiefly to depend " on two circumstances, the number of men of " learning, and the ample supply of excellent " authors. As to the first of these, we hope, " with the divine blessing, to show still more evi- " dently, our earnest desire and disposition to re- " ward and to honour their merits; this having " been for a long time past our chief delight and " pleasure. With respect to the acquisition of " books, we return thanks to God, that in this " also an opportunity is now afforded us of pro- " moting the advantage of mankind." [c]

The pontiff then adverts to his having obtained, at great expense, the five books of Tacitus, which he

[c] *Leon.* x. *Bulla, Taciti op. a Beroaldo præf. Ed. Rom.* 1515.

he confides to the [redacted]e of Beroaldo for publication with high commendation on his talents, industry, and integrity, and in order to secure to him the reward of his labours, he denounces the sentence of excommunication *latæ sententiæ*, with the penalty of 200 ducats, and forfeiture of the books, against any persons who should reprint these works within ten years, without the express consent of the editor. [d]

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But

[d] This edition was accordingly published in a handsome volume, in folio, under the following title;

P. CORNELII TACITI LIBRI
QUINQUE NOVITER IN
VENTI ATQUE CUM
RELIQUIS EJUS
OPERIBUS
EDITI.

" Ne quis intra decennium præsens opus possit alicubi " impune imprimere aut impressum vendere gravissimis " edictis autum est."

At the close of the Dialogue de Oratoribus, after the table of errata and register, we read,

" P. Cornelii Taciti Equitis Ro. Historiarum libri quin- " que nuper in Germania inventi ac cum reliquis omnibus " ejus operibus quæ prius inveniebantur, Romæ impressi " p. Magistrum Stephanum Guillereti de Lothoringia Tul- " len. dioc. anno M. D. XV. Kl. Martii. Leonis X. Pont. " Max. anno secundo."

On

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But notwithstanding the censures of the Christian church were thus employed by the pontiff, for protecting the writings of a heathen author, neither these nor the temporal penalties by which they were accompanied, could prevent another edition from being printed at Milan in the same year, by Alessandro Minuziano, who had established himself there as a printer, and contended with Aldo Manuzio in the publication of the writings of antiquity. So vigilant was Minuziano in this respect, that he obtained the sheets of the Roman edition as they came progressively from the press, and it is probable that his own edition was nearly completed before he was aware of the heavy denunciations against those who should presume to pirate the work. By this measure the incautious printer not only incurred the penalties in the papal brief, but excited the indignation of the pope, who found his monitory treated with contempt

The work printed by Minuziano of Viterbo.

On the reverse are the pontifical arms, with a further address, as under:

NOMINE LEONIS X. PONT. MAX. PROPOSITA SUNT PREMIA NON MEDIOCRIA HIS QUI AD EUM LIBROS VETERES NECQUE HACTENUS EDITOS ATTULERINT.

This is followed by the life of Agricola, with which the volume closes.

contempt in the very place which he had lately freed from the yoke of the French, and who ordered Minuziano immediately to appear at Rome. The interposition of some powerful friends, and not improbably that of Maximiliano Sforza, was, however, exerted in his behalf, and such representations were made to the pope, as induced him to relax from his severity, and release the offender from his excommunication; which was followed by a kind of compromise between him and Beroaldo, by which the Milanese printer was allowed to dispose of the remaining copies of his work. [e]

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Rise of the study of oriental literature.

The restoration of the Greek and Roman languages was accompanied, or speedily followed, by the study of the oriental tongues, which, although so necessary to the perfect knowledge of the sacred writings, now first began to engage the attention of the learned. To the successful prosecution of these inquiries, the favour of the great was yet more necessary than to the other branches of learning; and the assistance afforded by Leo X. to those who engaged in them, may serve to show, that his munificence was not confined, as has generally been supposed, to the lighter and more ornamental branches of literature. Among those who had made

[e] *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia. Art. Beroaldo.*

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made an early proficiency in the knowledge of the eastern tongues, was Teseo Ambrogio, of Pavia, regular canon of the Lateran,[f] who arrived at Rome in the year 1512, at the opening of the fifth session of the Lateran council. The great number of ecclesiasticks from Syria, Ethiopia, and other parts of the east, who attended that council, afforded him an opportunity of prosecuting his studies with advantage; and at the request of the cardinal *Santa Croce*, he was employed as the person best qualified to translate from the Chaldean into Latin, the liturgy of the eastern clergy, previously to the use of it being expressly sanctioned by the pope.[g] After having been employed by Leo X. for two years in giving instructions in Latin to the subdeacon Elias, a legate from Syria to the council, whom the pope wished to retain in his court, and from whom Ambrogio received in return instructions in the Syrian tongue, he was appointed by the pontiff to the chair of a professor in the university of Bologna, where he delivered instructions in the Syriack and Chaldaick languages, for the first time that they had been publickly

Teseo Ambrogio, professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna.

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[f] He was of the noble family of the Conti d'Albonese, and born in 1469. At fifteen years of age, he is said to have written and spoken Greek and Latin, with a facility equal to any person of the time. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Italia.* ii. 609.

[g] *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital. ubi. sup.*

publickly taught in Italy.[h] Ambrogio is said to have understood no less than eighteen different languages, many of which he spoke with the ease and fluency of a native.[h] In the commotions which devastated Italy after the death of Leo X. he was despoiled of the numerous and valuable eastern manuscripts, which he had collected by the industry of many years, as also of the types and apparatus which he had prepared for an edition of the Psalter in the Chaldean, which he intended to have accompanied with a dissertation on that language. This, however, did not deter him from the prosecution of his studies, and in the year 1539, he published at Pavia, his "Introduction "to the Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, and ten "other tongues, with the alphabetical characters "of about forty different languages;" which is considered by the Italians themselves, as the earliest attempt made in Italy towards a systematick acquaintance with the literature of the east.[i]

His introduction to the Chaldaick and other languages.

The

[h] *Mazzuch. ut supra.* But by an epistle of Isidoro Clario, bishop of Foligno to Ambrogio, cited by the same author, we are informed with more probability, that Ambrogio was master of at least ten different languages. "Etenim si Ennius, propter Latinæ et Græcæ linguæ scien-"tiam, duo se corda habere gloriabatur, quanti tandem is "est, qui decem et eo amplius corda, ob tam multam tot "Linguarum eruditionem, habere credendus est?"

[i] *Mazzuch. ut sup.* *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam*

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Agostino Giustiniani publishes a polyglot edition of the Psalter.

The labours of Ambrogio were emulated by several other learned Italians, and particularly by Agostino Giustiniani; who with more success than Ambrogio, undertook an edition of the Psalter in four languages, which he published at Genoa, in 1516.[j] It is observable that Tiraboschi considers this work as the first specimen of a polyglot Bible, which had been seen in Europe;[k] but this praise is justly due to the great complutensian polyglot of cardinal Ximenes, of which the earliest part bears the date of 1514, and which work is inscribed to Leo X.[l] On being informed that Sante Pagnini, a learned ecclesiastick then in Rome, had undertaken to translate the Bible from the original Hebrew, Leo sent to him, and requested to be allowed the inspection of his work. The satisfac-

Complutensian polyglot of cardinal Ximenes dedicated to Leo X.

Leo directs the translation of the scriptures by Pagnini to be published at his expense.

Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Characterum differentium Alphabeta circiter quadraginta, &c. 1539, 4*to*. *Excudebat Papiæ, Ioan. Maria Simonetta Cremon. in Canonica Sancti Petri in Cælo aureo, sumptibus et typis authoris libri.*—" Questo," says Mazzuchelli, " è " il primo libro che in tal genere di Grammatica siasi " veduto in Italia."

[j] He had intended to have given a similar editon of the whole of the sacred writings, but this portion only was published by him. *v. Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. *par.* ii. *p.* 403.

[k] *Ibid.*

[l] For a particular account of it, *v. de Bure. Bibl. instr. No. I.*

satisfaction which he derived from it was such, that he immediately ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his own expense, and gave directions that materials should be provided for printing it. A part of it was accordingly executed, but the death of the pontiff retarded its completion, and the labours of Pagnini were not published until the pontificate of Clement VII.[m] The Hebrew tongue was also publickly taught at Rome by Agacio Guidacerio, a native of Calabria, who published a grammar of that languge, which he dedicated to Leo X. and of which he gave a more complete edition at Paris, in 1539.[n] Francesco de' Rosi, of Ravenna, having, during his travels into Syria, discovered an Arabick manuscript, under the title of *The mystick philosophy of Aristotle*,

Encourages researches for eastern MSS.

[m] In the dedication to Clement VII. Pagnini thus relates the foregoing circumstances: "Leo X. me, cum "Romæ agerem, accito, quam olim elucubraveram utriusque "instrumenti translationem, ut sibi ostenderem benigne "ac perhumaniter injunxit. Is cum aliquot vidisset qua- "terniones, et ex iis cetera suo præclaro expendisset in- "genio, *volo*, inquit *ut meis impensis totus transcribatur* "*liber, et typis exacte revisus excudatur*. Tum, ut novit "Tua Beatitudo, non modo pro scribis, verum etiam pro "parandis iis quæ opus erant executioni, impensas suppe- "ditavit, et sequenti deinde anno nonulla excusa fuerunt. "Sed proh dolor! illo post hæc brevi ex humanis sublato, "gravi omnium mœrore intermissa sunt omnia." *ap. Fabr. vita Leon.* x. *Adnot. No.* 27.

[n] *Tiraboschi Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. ii. 418.

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tle, caused it to be translated into Latin, and presented it to the pope, who in his letter of acknowledgments, expresses his earnest desire of promoting similar researches, and his approbation of the labours of Francesco, to whom he also grants a privilege for the publication of the work, which was accordingly printed at Rome in the year 1519. These brief notices of the rise of oriental learning in Europe may sufficiently demonstrate the interest which Leo X. took in promoting those studies, and the success which attended his efforts.

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1514.

PUBLICK thanksgivings at Rome for the successes of the Christian arms—Splendid embassy from the king of Portugal to Leo X.—Papal grant of newly discovered countries to the king of Portugal—Louis XII. endeavours to engage in his interests the Helvetick states—Proposed alliance between the royal houses of France, Spain, and Austria—Efforts of Leo X. to prevent such alliance—Leo endeavours to reconcile the French and English sovereigns—Treaty of alliance between England and France—Wolsey appointed archbishop of York—Marriage of Louis XII. with the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII.—Singular interview between Erasmus and the papal legate, Canossa—Magnificent exhibitions at Florence—Triumph of Camillus—Tournaments—Deliberations at Rome for aggrandizing the family of the Medici—Leo X. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples, and the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino—Enters into a secret alliance with Louis XII. —His motives explained—Leo obtains the city of Modena—Endeavours to reconcile the Venetians to the king of Spain and the emperour elect—Legation of Bembo to Venice—The senate refuses to comply with his proposals—Historical mistakes respecting this negotiation—Death of Louis XII.—His character—His widow marries Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

THE reconciliation which had been so happily effected between Louis XII. and the Roman see, was extremely agreeable to the pope; not only as it afforded a subject of triumph to the church, in having

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having reduced to due obedience so refractory and powerful a monarch, but as having also extinguished the last remains of that schism which had originated in the council of Pisa, and had at one time threatened to involve in contention the whole Christian world.

Publick thanksgivings in Rome for the successes of the Christian arms.

This satisfaction was soon afterwards increased by the intelligence of the important victories which the kings of Hungary and of Poland had obtained over the common enemies of the Christian faith, and of the discoveries of Emanuel, king of Portugal, in the east, under the conduct of the celebrated Vasco del Gama.[a] Such a concurrence of great and prosperous events, induced the pope to direct the celebration of a publick thanksgiving in Rome, which was accordingly observed with extraordinary pomp, and splendid processions to the churches of *S. Maria del Popolo*, and *S. Agostino;* in which the pontiff appeared in person, and by the propriety and decorum which always distinguished him on publick occasions, gave additional dignity to the ceremony. At the same time he ordered Camillo Portio to pronounce, in the pontifical chapel, a Latin oration in praise of the character and

[a] This event supp'ied the celebrated Portuguese poet, Luis de Camoens, with the subject of his *Lusiad*, which was not, however, written until many years afterwards, and was first published in 1572.

and actions of the king of Portugal, who had communicated to him his success, and testified his dutiful obedience to the Roman court, and his personal attachment to the supreme pontiff.

This mutual interchange of civility and respect between the king of Portugal and the Pontiff was, however, rendered much more conspicuous by a splendid embassy from the Portuguese monarch, which soon afterwards arrived at Rome, to the great delight and astonishment of the inhabitants. The chief ambassadour on this occasion was the celebrated Tristano Cugna, who had himself held a principal command in the expedition to the east, and had acquired great honour by his conduct and courage in its prosecution. He was accompanied by Jacopo Paceco, and Giovanni Faria, professors of the law, of great eminence and authority. Three sons of Cugna, with many others of his relatives and friends, accompanied the procession, which was met at the gates of the city by a select body of cardinals and prelates, who conducted the strangers to the palaces appointed for their residence. But the respectability of the envoys was of less importance in the eyes of the populace, than the singular and magnificent presents for the pope, by which they were accompanied.[b] Among these were an elephant of extraordinary

Splendid embassy from the king of Portugal to to Leo X.

[b] This incident is celebrated by Aurelio Sereno, Giovanni

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ordinary size, two leopards, a panther, and other uncommon animals. Several Persian horses, richly caparisoned, appeared also in the train, mounted by natives of the same country, dressed in their proper habits. To these was added a profusion of articles of inestimable value; pontifical vestments, adorned with gold and jewels, vases, and other implements for the celebration of sacred rites, and a covering for the altar, of most exquisite workmanship. A herald, bearing the arms of the Portuguese sovereign, led the procession. On their arrival at the pontifical palace, where the pope stood at the windows to see them pass, the elephant stopped, and kneeling before his holiness, bowed himself thrice to the ground.[c] A large vessel was here provided, and filled with water, which the elephant drew up into his trunk, and showered down

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vanni Capito, and others, in several copies of Latin verses.

[c] "In annuis enim tui Pontificatûs ludis, mense Martio "celebratis, Indus Elephas, omnium animalium sagacissi- "mus, a Serenissimo Emanuele Lusitanorum Rege, per "splendidissimum Equitem, Oratorem suum, Tristanum "Cuneum missus, incognitus nec dum sæculo nostro in "Italiâ visus, stupentibus ac mirantibus populis, per totam "urbem exhibitus apparuit. Quod spectaculum Pompeio, "Hannibali, Domitiano, paucisque aliis patuit, id tuo au- "gustissimo tempore fuit demonstratum; ut docile animal "in tua publica hilaritate oblatum, supplex tuum numen "sentiret adoraretque." *Aurel. Serenus. Theatr. Capitol. in dedicat. ad Leon.* x. *an.* 1514

down again on the adjacent multitude, dispersing no small portion of it among the more polite spectators at the windows, to the great entertainment of the pontiff. Six days afterwards the ambassadours were admitted to a publick audience, on which occasion the procession was repeated. The pope, surrounded by the cardinals and prelates of the church, and attended by the ambassadours of foreign states, and all the officers of his court, was addressed in a Latin oration by Paceco,[d] at the conclusion of which, Leo replied to him in the same language, highly commending the king for his devotion to the holy see. Of this opportunity the pontiff also availed himself, to recommend the maintenance of peace among the states of Europe, and the union of their arms against the Turks; expressing himself with such promptitude, seriousness, and elegance, as to obtain the unanimous admiration of the auditors. On the following day, the presents from the king were brought into the conservatory of the gardens adjoining the pontifical palace, where, on the introduction of animals proper for that purpose, the wild beasts displayed their agility in hunting, and their ferocity in taking their prey. A spectacle which

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[d] This oration, although in a style of the most hyperbolical panegyrick, was highly admired by the Roman scholars, and gave rise to several commendatory copies of verses, in praise both of the king and his ambassadour.

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which humanity would have spared, but which was probably highly gratifying to the pontiff, who was devoted to the pleasures of the chase. The Portuguese monarch had intended to have surprised the Roman people with the sight of another, and yet rarer animal, which had not been seen in Rome for many ages; but the Rhinoceros which he had brought from the east with this view, unfortunately perished in the attempt to get him on board the vessel prepared to transport him to Italy.

Papal grant of the new discovered countries to the king of Portugal.

In return for these publick testimonies of consideration and respect, on the part of the king of Portugal, Leo addressed to that monarch a publick letter of acknowledgment, and soon afterwards transmitted to him a consecrated rose. His holiness had in truth for some timehesitated, whether he should present this precious gift to him, or to the emperour elect, Maximilian; but the attention which he had experienced from the king seems to have effected this important decision. He also granted to Emanuel the tenths and thirds of the clergy in his dominions, as long as he should carry on the war in Africa,[e] together with the right of presentation and ecclesiastical preferment, in all countries discovered by him beyond the Cape

[e] 20 *April*, *Supplem. au Dumont. Corps Diplomat. tom.* ii. *par.* i. 26.

Cape of Good Hope;[f] and these concessions were soon afterwards followed by a more ample donation of all kingdoms, countries, provinces, and islands, which he might recover from the infidels, not only from Capes *Bojador* and *Naon* to the Indies, *but in parts yet undiscovered and unknown, even to the pontiff himself.*[g] About the same time, the pope beatified the memory of Elizabeth, queen of Portugal, who had signalized herself by the sanctity of her life,[h] and enrolled in the list of martyrs the seven minorities, who are said to have been the last family in Africa who suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the Christian faith.

Louis XII. endeavours to attach to his interests the Helvetick states.

Although Leo was highly gratified by the event of his negotiations with Louis XII. the success of which might justly be attributed to his own firmness and moderation, yet he could not but perceive, that his alliance with that monarch gave rise to considerable embarrassment, as to the course of political

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f 7 *June*, *Ib. p.* 27.

g 3 *Nov. Ib. p.* 28.

h The degree of *Santo* and *Beato*, in the hierarchy of the Roman church, must not be confounded; the former being only conferred on those endowed with the highest degree of sanctity, accompanied by the evidence of miraculous powers; whilst the latter may be conceded to persons of holy life, although without such pretensions. The queen of Portugal in this instance is only *Beata*.

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political conduct which it would in future be necessary for him to adopt. With his hostility to the church, Louis had by no means relinquished his pretensions to the dutchy of Milan, for the recovery of which he had already begun to make formidable preparations. As he had been frustrated in his former attempts by the opposition and promptitude of Leo X. and by the courage of the Swiss, he determined, after having secured the favour of the one, to obtain, if possible, the assistance, or at least the neutrality of the other. In this attempt he met, however, with greater obstacles than he expected. During the late contests, the Swiss had imbibed a spirit of resentment against the French monarch, which had at length been inflamed to a high degree of national antipathy. The treaty of Dijon, by which Louis stood engaged to pay to them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns, as the price of their evacuating his dominions, had not yet been fulfilled; and the preparations making by the king for another invasion of Milan, were a sufficient demonstration that he did not consider himself as bound by a treaty, of which the chief article was his relinquishment of all pretensions to that dutchy. It was to no purpose that he endeavoured to justify himself to the Helvetick states for this open breach of a compact, by which his own dominions had been released from the most imminent danger. Those hardy and independent republicans had even the magnanimity to refuse a much larger sum

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than that for which they had before stipulated, and which was offered them, on the condition of their releasing the king from his engagements, and favouring his enterprise against the states of Milan.[i] 1514. Æt. 39.

Unable either to secure the favour, or to mitigate the resentment of the Swiss, who threatened not only to take upon themselves the defence of the Milanese in case of a future attack, but also to make a second irruption into France, Louis had recourse to another expedient. The affinity that already subsisted between him and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had married his niece Germaine de Foix, afforded him an opportunity of proposing an alliance by marriage, between his youngest daughter Reneé, then only four years of age, and the archduke Charles, afterwards emperour, by the name of Charles V. who stood in an equal degree of relationship, as grandson, both to Ferdinand and the emperour elect, Maximilian. By this union Louis expected to secure the cooperation of both these powerful monarchs in his designs upon Italy; and as the Venetians still remained firmly attached to his interests, for the support of which they had indeed made great sacrifices, he had

Proposes an alliance with the houses of Spain and Austria.

[i] Louis had offered to pay down 400,000 ducats, and 800,000 more by instalments at future periods. *Guicciard. lib.* xii. *vol.* ii. *fi.* 68.

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had no doubt that he should now be able to accomplish his purposes. The preliminaries for the marriage were accordingly agreed upon,[j] and as this important union could not, from the youth of the parties, be carried into immediate effect, the truce which had been already established for one year, between Louis and Ferdinand, was soon afterwards again renewed; with a reservation for the emperour elect, and the king of England to accede to it, if they should think proper.[k]

These proceedings were a cause of great alarm to Leo X. who perceived, that by this union of the

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[j] Muratori asserts, that this treaty was concluded the 24th March, 1514. *Annal. d'Italia. vol.* x. *p.* 109. But it appears to have been signed at Blois, on the first day of December, 1513. The only parties being, their Catholick and most Christian majesties. The husband was to be either the archduke Charles, or his brother Ferdinand, at the choice of the Catholick king and the princess Renecé. Louis agreed to relinquish all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. The states of Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, were to be conquered and transferred as a patrimonial inheritance to the archduke and his intended bride. The pope was named as the common ally of both parties, and power was reserved for the emperour and the king of England to accede to the league; the latter restoring to Louis XII. the city of Tournay. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat. vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 178.

[k] *v. Dumont, Corps Diplomat. v.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 179.

the courts of Aragon, Vienna, and France, the dutchy of Milan, and its dependent states, would fall an easy prey to the invaders.[1] Nor were the fears of Leo confined to this district. He well knew that the opposite interests of these great continental powers had hitherto preserved from a foreign yoke those provinces of Italy which yet remained under the dominion of their native princes; and he justly dreaded that this coalition would only be the harbinger of a general partition of that country, to almost every part of which, one or another of these potentates had already advanced pretensions. In this emergency, all his talents and exertions were employed to prevent the proposed union from taking effect.[m] He was well aware, that Louis had been chiefly impelled to this measure by his misunderstanding with the Swiss; on which account he earnestly laboured to reconcile the differences which had arisen between

Efforts of Leo x. to prevent this alliance.

[1] On the twentieth of March, 1514, a correspondence commenced between the cardinal Giulio de' Medici at Rome, and Lorenzo de' Medici at at Florence, which was carried on, at Rome, by Balthazar da Pescia, and discloses not only all the transactions of the Roman court to the minutest particulars, but the views and designs of the supreme pontiff. From these letters, none of which have before been published, some extracts have already been given, and others will occur in the course of the present work.

[m] *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.*

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tween them. Nor was the French king unwilling to listen to his representations, in the hope that he might yet obtain the assistance of those warlike mercenaries; in which case he would gladly have relinquished his treaty for the alliance with Spain and the emperour, which he already began to suspect could only terminate in the aggrandizement of the united house of Aragon and of Austria, and in the humiliation of that of France. Under these impressions, he proposed to unite his interests with those of the pope, and the Helvetick states, provided they would not oppose his pretensions on the state of Milan; at the same time offering to the pope a compensation in some other part of Italy for any injury which he might sustain.[n] Whatever might have been the determination of Leo, who appears to have balanced in his mind the probable consequences of the alliance between France and Aragon, with the certainty of the loss of Milan, he had not an opportunity of making his election; the Swiss having positively refused to relax in their pretensions, or to enter into any alliance with the king, unless the treaty of Dijon was carried into full effect. In order to mitigate their resentment, Leo despatched to the Helvetick diet, as his legate, the cardinal of Sion; but although that prelate had great influence on the minds of his countrymen, he

[n] *Lettere ut sup.*

he could not on this occasion prevail on them to depart from their resolution. On the other hand, Louis XII. displayed equal pertinacity in maintaining his pretensions to the state of Milan, the relinquishment of which he considered as not only derogatory to his just rights, but as a stain on the honour and dignity of his crown. °

Leo endeavours to reconcile the French and English sovereigns.

But although Leo was thus disappointed in his expectations, he did not relax in his endeavours to defeat the dreaded alliance, which he considered as pregnant with danger to the independence and repose of Italy. The cautious and procrastinating temper of Ferdinand of Spain, and the folly and indecision of Maximilian, had hitherto prevented this projected union, which might have subjugated all Europe to the dominion of a single sovereign. In this emergency a dawn of hope appeared in another quarter, of which the pope did not fail most eagerly to avail himself. Henry VIII. of England, who had acted so important and so honourable a part in the league against France, had learnt with extreme indignation, that his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, had, without his concurrence, renewed his treaties with Louis XII. and had thereby, as he asserted, a third time deceived and imposed

° *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 67.

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imposed upon him; on which account he avowed his determination not to interfere further in the contest.[p] This change in the disposition and views of Henry, was communicated by him to the pope, who was no sooner apprized of it, than he determined to encourage the resentment of Henry against his father-in-law, and to promote, as far as in his power, an alliance between the French and English sovereigns; well judging, that if he should be fortunate enough to accomplish this object, it would frustrate the treaty yet depending for the marriage of the archduke Charles with the daughter of Louis XII. Nor was Louis less inclined to listen to terms of accommodation than Leo was to propose them; being fully persuaded, that whilst he had so formidable an enemy as the king of England, who had lately carried the war into the heart of his dominions, he could not, without extreme imprudence, undertake his favourite expedition into Italy. Of this Leo was also sufficiently apprized; nor was he desirous of facilitating the views of the French monarch; but of the two evils with which that country was now threatened, an attack upon Milan, by the unassisted arms of the French, appeared to him to be the least; as he still hoped to provide for its defence by the aid of the Swiss, with whom, in case an alliance took place between France and England, the emperour elect and the king

[p] *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib.* xii. *v.* ii. *fi.* 72.

king of Aragon would probably join; whilst, on the other hand, the union of the powerful houses of France, Spain, and Austria, left not the slightest hope of successful resistance.

Treaty of alliance between England and France.

The high consideration in which Leo was now held, both by the French and English monarchs, afforded him the fairest prospect of success. To the former he had lately been solemnly reconciled, and had received him as a repentant son into the bosom of the church. In the dissensions between Louis and the Swiss, he had acted the part of a mediator; and although his interference had been unsuccessful, and he had in fact other purposes in view, than the promoting the ambitious views of the king, yet it gave him fair pretensions to his confidence, and added weight to his opinions. Louis had lately been deprived of his queen, Ann of Bretagne, with whom he had lived in great harmony, and who died in the beginning of the year 1514, leaving behind her the reputation of a princess of extraordinary virtue, talents, and piety; an event which, as it afterwards appeared, was of no inconsiderable importance, in facilitating and cementing the proposed reconciliation between the contending powers. With Henry VIII. the pope was upon terms of still closer amity. In the war with France, Henry had on all occasions avowed himself the champion of the holy see, and expressed his determination to frustrate the efforts of all schismaticks. In return for his attachment and his

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his services, Leo had presented to him a consecrated sword and hat; a distinction conferred only on those princes who have obtained in person a signal victory in defence of the church.[q] But, what was of more importance, Wolsey, already bishop of Lincoln and of Tournay, was daily rising in the favour of his master, and was eagerly grasping at those higher preferments which Leo alone had it in his power to bestow. Under these flattering auspices, Leo communicated his project to Bambridge, cardinal archbishop of York, who then resided at Rome, as ambassadour of the English monarch, requesting him to represent to his sovereign, that after the glory which he had obtained in his contest with France, and the unexampled breach of faith which he had experienced from his allies, he might now with justice and honour consult his own interest, in effecting such a league with Louis XII. as might not only indemnify him for the expenses which he had sustained, but secure to him the result of his victories.[r] To this

[q] These honorary rewards "not so estimable for their "materials, as for their mystery," were transmitted to England by Leonardo Spinelli, and were accompanied by an explanatory letter from the pontiff to the king, informing him of their value and use, of which he might not otherwise have been aware. See Note G. at the end of the volume.

[r] Although Guicciardini seems not to have determined whether

this advice Henry listened with approbation, and in a conversation with the duke de Longueville, whom he had taken prisoner at the battle of Giungaste, and who seems to have obtained no small share of his confidence, he gave such indications of his pacifick intentions, as induced the duke to acquaint his sovereign with this fortunate change in the disposition and views of the English monarch. No sooner was Louis apprized of this event, than he despatched Jean de Selva, president of the parliament of Normandy, as his envoy to the English court, upon whose arrival a truce was agreed on between the two monarchs, to continue as long as the ambassadour should remain in England. For the purpose of promoting this negotiation, the pope also sent to Paris Lodovico Canossa, bishop of Tricarica, a man of noble birth, and of great ability

whether this negotiation arose from the interference of the pontiff, or the proper inclination of the parties, yet he fully admits that it commenced between the pope and the archbishop of York at Rome. "Come si sia, cominciò "presto, o per *l' autorità del pontifice*, o per *inclinatione* "*propria delle parti*, a nascere pratica d'accordo tra il Re "di Francia e il Re d'Inghilterra, i ragionamenti della "quale, *cominciati dal Pontifice con Eboracense*, furono "trasferiti presto in Inghilterra." *Storia d'Ital. v.* ii. *lib.* xii. *p.* 73. The documents now produced will, however, show, that the measure originated at Rome; a circumstance of which neither the Italian nor the English historians seem to have been sufficiently aware.

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lity and address, who after having prepared the way for pacifick measures, proceeded thence to England. These deliberations were not of long continuance. Louis XII. had fully authorized his envoy to conclude the proposed treaty; and in order to show that his intentions were sincere, he directed the duke de Longueville to request in marriage for the French monarch, the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII. then only eighteen years of age. In the commencement of this negotiation, to which Wolsey was the only person admitted on behalf of the king of England, the demands of Henry were extravagant; but the representations of the duke de Longueville, and the policy of Wolsey, who well knew, that by promoting this alliance he should recommend himself to the favour of the Roman court, soon induced him to relax in his demands. The pride of Henry was also gratified by the proposed union between his sister and Louis XII. who, to use his own words, *had sought so gentely unto him for both amytie and marriage*.[s] Some objections, however, arose respecting Tournay, of which Wolsey was yet bishop, to the restitution of which Henry positively refused to assent; and Canossa, the pope's legate, again hastened to France, to prevail upon Louis XII. to consent to its being retained by the English monarch. His efforts were successful;

[s] *Rapin's Hist. of England, book* XV.

ful; and the convenient recommendation of the French king's counsellors was procured, to shield their sovereign from the disgrace of having, by his own free will, assented to the dismemberment of his kingdom.[t] On the second day of August, 1514, the treaty was signed at London, by which the two sovereigns, after declaring that they have been chiefly induced to concur in this arrangement, by the exhortations and mediation of the pope, bind themselves to afford each other mutual assistance in the prosecution of their rights, and the defence of their respective dominions.[u] The claims of Louis XII. to the states of Milan and Genoa, are explicitly asserted, and virtually admitted. The treaty is to continue during the joint lives of the contracting parties, and for one year afterwards, and they mutually promise to endeavour

[t] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 73.

[u] It is remarkable, that the author of the League of Cambray asserts, "que le Pape entra dans le negotiation "peutetre pour la refroidir plûtost que pour l' échauffer." to which he adds, "Ce qui est certain c'est que le card. "d' Yorck, Christophe Bembrice ambassadeur d' Angle- "terre a Rome, qui sçavoit les intentions du Pape, ecri- "voit souvent a son maitre, pour le dissuader de faire la "paix." *Tom* ii. *p.* 363. If the cardinal of York wrote to this effect it is evident that he either did not know, or did not approve of the intentions of the pope, which are unequivocally expressed in the secret correspondence of the Medici family before referred to.

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vour within twelve months, to obtain from the pope a sentence of excommunication against him who should first infringe the terms.[v]

This treaty was immediately followed by two others between the same parties; the one for the marriage of the princess Mary with Louis XII. the other for the payment of a million of crowns by Louis to Henry, "as well for the arrears of certain "sums already due, as on account of the good "affection he bore him, and to the end, that their "amity might be the more lasting." By the treaty of marriage, Henry agreed to convey his sister at his own expense, to the city of Abbeville, where, within four days after her arrival, the king of France was solemnly to marry her. He also promised to give as her portion four hundred thousand crowns, one half of which should be reckoned for her jewels and preparations, and the other half deducted from the million of crowns agreed to be paid by Louis XII. who, on his part, undertook to fulfil the marriage, and to make the jointure of his bride equal to

[v] *v. Rymer. Fœdera. v.* vi. *par.* i. *p.* 64. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat. v.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 183. On the signature of the treaty Henry VIII. wrote to the pontiff, informing him, in terms of the highest esteem and respect, of the reconciliation which had taken place between him and Louis XII. which he justly attributes to the recommendation and interference of the pontiff.

to that of Ann of Bretagne, or any other queen of France.[w]

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These important negotiations were scarcely concluded, when messengers arrived at Paris, from the emperour elect and the Spanish monarch, with full powers to ratify the proposed alliance, by the marriage of the archduke with the princess Reneé, on such preliminary terms as the French monarch might approve;[x] but Louis had now less occasion for their support, and hesitated not to reject their overtures, and the princess afterwards became the wife of Ercole II. duke of Ferrara. It has been supposed by the English historians, that in his transactions with Louis XII. Henry suffered himself to be misled by his great favourite, and imposed upon by that monarch, who eventually prevailed upon him to rest satisfied with his bond for the million of crowns, which was the price at which Henry had estimated his friendship. But whatever were the private objects, or private disappointments of the parties, it must be confessed, that as a great publick measure of precaution for the safety of Europe, it was one of the most important alliances that ever was formed; as it served, not

[w] *Rymer. Fœdera. vol.* vii. *p.* i. *p.* 68, &c. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat. vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 188, &c.

[x] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. *v.* ii. *p.* 74.

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not only to terminate the bloody contests between England and France, but prevented the coalition of the French monarch with the united houses of Spain and of Austria, and was well calculated to raise up a formidable barrier to that preponderating power, which was shortly afterwards concentrated in the person of the emperour Charles V.

The active part which Wolsey had taken in effecting this reconciliation, recommended him still further to the favour of his sovereign, to whom an opportunity soon occurred of testifying his approbation. Whilst the treaty was yet depending, the cardinal archbishop of York, Christopher Bambridge, suddenly died, on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been poisoned by his steward, Rinaldo da Modena, who is said to have confessed, on being put to the rack, that he was induced to commit the crime, in revenge for a blow given him by his master.[y] With this event the cardinal, Giulio

[y] It appears, that when Rinaldo was required to sign his confession, he found an opportunity of stabbing himself, and died the following day; after which he was hanged and quartered, *in terrorem*. "Questa mattina è stato appi-"chato in ponte, et poi squartato, Don Rinaldo da Modona "alias el *Pretino*, che era servitore del cardinale di Ing-"hilterra; perchè dicono che hà confessato havere avene-"nato il suo patrone, el quale è stato molti dì in Castello, "et sendo più volte examinato diligentemente, ultima-"mente, dicono, che venendo per ratificare, si dette d'uno "coltellino

Guilio de' Medici, immediately acquainted the king of England, at the same time informing him, that the pope had resolved not to dispose of the livings held by the archbishop until the king's pleasure should be known. Henry immediately requested that the archbishoprick of York might be conferred on his favourite Wolsey, with which the pope, without hesitation, complied, and thereby repaid the obligations which he owed to Wolsey for the active part which he had taken in the negotiation, under the appearance, and with the credit of complying with the wishes of the king.[z]

Marriage of Louis XII. and Mary sister of Henry VIII.

The preparations for the marriage of the princess Mary, occupied nearly two months, during which Louis XII. frequently addressed himself by letter to Wolsey, entreating him with all the impatience of a youthful lover to expedite the departure of

"coltellino nella poppa manca, che nissuno lo vidde; et "volendolo porre ad la corda si venne mancho, et viddeno "correre sangue, et trovorno come lui si era ferito; et "questo fu Venerdi mattino, et Sabbato sera circa 24 "hori si morì, con buono sentimento; et così morto per "dare exemplo ad li altri questa mattina lo hanno facto "justitiare." *Bald. da Pescia, ad Lor. de' Med.* 28°. *Agost.* 1514. *MSS. Fior.*

[z] Soon afterwards the king sent the cardinal de' Medici a present of two horses with splendid trappings for which the cardinal returned a respectful letter of thanks. See Note H. at the end of the volume.

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of his intended bride, and assuring him, that his most earnest desire was to see her in France, and find himself along with her.[a] On the second day of October, 1514, she embarked at Dover; to which place she had been accompanied by the king and queen, who then consigned her to the duke of Norfolk, to be conducted to Abbeville. A numerous train of the chief nobility also attended her to that city, where the marriage was celebrated with great splendour on the ninth day of the same month. After the ceremony, her whole retinue was dismissed, except a few confidential attendants, among whom was Ann Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn. The coronation took place shortly afterwards at Paris, on which occasion magnificent spectacles were exhibited, with jousts and tournaments, in which the duke of Suffolk, and the marquis of Dorset, came off with honour. The king and queen of France were spectators; but Louis, although not at an advanced age, was so infirm, that he was obliged to recline upon a couch.[b]

Singular interview between Erasmus and the papal legate, Canossa.

The important part which England had lately taken in the affairs of the continent, and the negotiations for the marriage of Louis XII. had opened a more direct intercourse between this and other countries,

[a] See Note I. at the end of the volume.

[b] *Lord Herbert's life of Henry VIII. and Rapin's Hist. lib.* xv.

countries, than had before subsisted, and certainly contributed to promote, in no inconsiderable degree, the growth of those studies, which had shortly before been transplanted from Italy, by the labours of William Grocin, Thomas Linacer, Richard Pace, and other Englishmen. Among those learned foreigners who had fixed their residence here, and were honoured with the patronage and friendship of the great, was Andrea Ammonio, a native of Lucca, who held an important office in the English court, and who by his correspondence with Erasmus, appears to have enjoyed the particular esteem of that eminent scholar, and to have been possessed of no inconsiderable share of talents and of learning.[c] The arrival of Canossa the papal legate, who was one of the most accomplished

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[c] Andreas Ammonius was an apostolick notary, the pope's collector in England, Latin secretary to Henry VIII. and prebendary of St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster, and of Fordington and Writhington, in the church of Salisbury. *Jortin's life of Erasmus, p.* 36. From a letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII. it appears, that some difficulties had arisen in the appointment of Ammonius to his office of receiver, which the pope submitted to the decision of the king. *Rymer. Fœdera*, vi. i. 86. The letters between Ammonius, and Erasmus, compose the chief part of the eighth book in the epistolary correspondence of the latter. He died of the *Sudor Britannicus*, or sweating sickness, in the year 1520, as appears by a letter from Sir Thomas More, in *Erasm. Ep. lib*, vii. *Ep.* 4.

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plished men of his time, extended still further the literary intercourse between the two countries. For the better effecting the purposes of his important mission, he had laid aside his ecclesiastical character, and appeared only as a private gentleman, to which rank he had just pretensions, both by his education and his birth.[d] Erasmus was then in England, and having been invited to dinner by his intimate friend, Ammonio, he there met with a stranger in a long vest, his hair enclosed in a caul, or net, and attended only by one servant. After wondering for some time at what Erasmus calls his military air, he addressed his friend Andrea, in Greek, and inquired who this person was; to which he received for answer, in the same language, that he was an eminent merchant; which it seems Erasmus thought a sufficient reason for treating him with marked contempt. The party then sat down to dinner, when Erasmus and his friend entered

[d] He was of a noble family of Verona, and before his ecclesiastical preferments, was denominated the count Lodovico Canossa. By his talents and integrity he acquired great authority and reputation; and was employed during the chief part of his life in the most important embassies, frequently in the service of Francis I. whose esteem and confidence he enjoyed in an eminent degree. His letters, many of which are published in the *Lettere di Principi*, under the signature of *Il Vescovo de Baiusa*, are written with great ability, and no less freedom with respect to the characters of the times; insomuch that they may be considered as the best in that collection.

tered into conversation on various topicks, in which Erasmus did not fail to express his opinion of their associate, who he conceived was ignorant of the language in which he spoke. At length he adverted to the politicks of the day, and inquired whether the report was true, that a legate was arrived from the pope to reconcile the differences between the French and English monarchs; observing, that the pope did not want his opinion, otherwise he should have recommended, that not a word should have been said about peace; but should rather have advised the establishment of a truce for three years, which might have given time for concluding negotiations. He then proceeded to make further inquiries respecting the legate, and asked whether he was a cardinal, which led to a jocular contest between Erasmus and his friend, all which Canossa heard in silence. The patience of the latter being, however, at length exhausted, he first spoke a few words in Italian, and then turning towards Erasmus, told him in Latin, that he wondered he would reside in so illiterate a country, unless he chose to be the *only* scholar in England, rather than the *first* in Rome. Struck with the acuteness of this observation in a merchant, Erasmus replied, that he was better satisfied with residing in a country where there were many men of great learning, among whom he might occupy the lowest place, than in Rome, where he should hold

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hold no rank whatever.[e] Erasmus did not, however, discover the imposition, until he was afterwards informed of it by his friend, with whom he was in no small measure displeased; for, as he justly observes, he might perhaps have used some expressions respecting the legate, or even the pope, which might have proved to his disadvantage.[f] From this incident Erasmus imagined, that the legate was offended with him; but this was so far from the truth, that Canossa, after his return to France, whither he went as apostolick legate, and where he was appointed by Francis I. bishop of Bayeux, wrote to invite Erasmus to come and reside with him; promising not only to maintain him, but to pay him two hundred ducats yearly, and to provide him with two horses and two servants;[g] an offer

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[e] Erasmus has, on other occasions, spoken with great commendation of the state of literature in England, which in point of improvement he places next to Italy. "Procul "abest ab Italia Britannia, sed eruditorum hominum æsti- "matione proxima est." *Ep. lib.* xxiii. *Ep.* 5.

[f] The particulars of this incident are given by Erasmus himself, in a letter to Germanus Brixius. *Ep. lib.* xxiv. *Ep.* 24.

[g] "Non voglio mancar di dirvi, che trovandomi in mi- "gliore fortuna del solito, ho scritto a quell' Erasmo, che "sapete, che se vuol venire a viver meco, io gli darò du- "gento ducati l'anno, & le spese per due cavalli, e due "bocche, e tanto otio per studiare, quanto esso saprà o vorrà prendere. Potrebbe essere, che si facesse beffe di

offer which Erasmus did not choose to accept; and which it seems could not remove from his mind the illiberal dislike which he had conceived against a man whom he had first known and conversed with in the borrowed character of a merchant.[g]

Whilst Leo X. was diligently attending to every variation in the political horizon of Europe, the immediate direction of the Florentine state was still intrusted to his young nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici, who continued to reside at that city, and to maintain the rank of his ancestors, as representative of the elder branch of his family. But notwithstanding the authority of Lorenzo, and the external form of a popular government, which was still preserved, the city of Florence, was at this time virtually governed by the Roman court, and Lorenzo himself acted only in conformity to such

Splendid exhibitions at Florence.

" me; & che m' invitasse con manco salario assai, perchè " manco ne merito, ad andare a star seco; ma che farìa di " me? non sapendo io stampare, nè fare altra cosa che gli " satisfasse; se forse non si dilettasse di dir male al solito." *Lettera di Canossa, a Andrea Ammonio. Lettere di Principi, vol.* i. *fo.* 18. *b.* In which last observation Canossa jocularly alludes to his first interview with Erasmus, at the house of his friend to whom the letter is addressed.

[g] Erasmus, in the year 1532, thus speaks of Canossa, " Si nunc Canossa parum bene est in Erasmum animatus, nihil est novæ rei. Solet spretus amor in iram verti," &c. *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xxiv. *Ep.* 24.

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such direction as he received from the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was the organ of the will of the pope in all the transactions of the Tuscan state. The amity which now subsisted between the pope and the other European sovereigns, restored to the city of Florence that tranquillity which it had not for many years enjoyed; and its history at this period is little more than the succession of its publick officers, and the records of those splendid exhibitions, of which one of the chief objects was to reconcile the minds of the inhabitants to the loss of their former independence. These exhibitions, first introduced by Lorenzo the Magnificent, were peculiar to that city, and were intended to unite the charms of poetry with the most striking effects of picturesque representation. For this purpose, some well known incident in ancient history, which might admit of the introduction of a splendid procession, was generally fixed upon, and neither expense nor labour was spared in displaying it to the utmost advantage. The triumph of Paulus Emilius had thus, in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, afforded a subject for the talents of Francesco Granacci, the fellow pupil of Michel-agnolo, who had represented it with such a variety of invention, and in so characteristick a manner, as to have obtained great applause. Even after the exile of the Medici from Florence, these exhibitions were occasionally continued, although with circumstances suitable to the more gloomy and superstitious character of the place.

place. Among those who distinguished themselves by the singularity of their inventions, was Piero di Cosimo, a Tuscan painter, who having made his preparations in secret, and engaged the necessary attendants, brought forth, in the midst of the publick rejoicings of the city, *the Triumph of Death*. This he represented by a car, which was drawn by black oxen, and painted with imitations of bones and sculls, intermingled with white crosses. On the car stood a large figure of death, armed with his scythe, and beneath, in the sides of the car, were openings representing sepulchres, from which, as often as the procession stopped, issued a troop of persons, who being clothed in black, and painted with white, so as to imitate the bones of the human body, appeared in the gloom of night like so many skeletons. These figures, seating themselves on the car, sung the verses written for the occasion by Antonio Alamanni, among which were the impressive lines;

" Fummo già come voi sete,
" Voi sarete come noi;
" Morti siam come vedete,
" Cosi morti vedrem voi."[i]

Once like you we were,
Spectres now you see;

Such

[i] *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori* ii. 387. The whole of this piece may be found in the *Canti Carnascialeschi. p.* 131. *Ed. Fior.* 1558.

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Such as we now are,
Such you soon shall be.

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This spectacle, which was accompanied by great crowds of attendants, with appropriate standards and devices, affected the whole city with mingled sentiments of surprise and horrour; but the novelty of the sight, and the invention which it displayed, excused so bold an attempt, and even obtained for the artist great commendation. There is, however, reason to believe, that a deeper meaning was couched under this exhibition, than might at first sight have been suspected, and that it was in fact intended by the adherents of the banished family of the Medici, to represent the wretched and deathlike state of Florence, whilst deprived of those to whom she had been indebted for her former happiness and glory.

Triumph of Camillus.

The twenty-fourth day of June, in the year 1514, being the anniversary festival of St. John the baptist, the patron saint of the city of Florence, and which had for ages been celebrated by the inhabitants with particular hilarity, was fixed upon by the young Lorenzo de' Medici, for the exhibition of a splendid spectacle, accompanied with tournaments and rejoicings, intended to commemorate the return of the Medici to Florence, and the recent elevation of the family. This intelligence no sooner arrived at Rome, than it threw the whole court into commotion, and the concerns of

of nations, and the interests of the church, were forgotten for a while in the anticipated pleasures of this great event. Many of the cardinals requested permission to be present at Florence on the occasion. Among these were Cibò, and Rossi, both near relations of the pontiff, the cardinals of Ferrara, and of Aragon, Cornaro, Bibbiena, and Sauli; who having obtained the consent of the pope, prepared for their journey, and that the dignity of their rank might not prevent their sharing in the amusements of the populace, they determined to assume borrowed characters.[j] The cardinal Giulio de' Medici, although at that time indisposed, expressed his earnest desire to accompany his brethren; and even the supreme pontiff interested himself with such warmth in the preparation and conduct of this spectacle, as evidently demonstrated that he would himself have been present, had he not been prevented by a sense of the decorum due to his high station. He gave, however, positive directions that the most minute account of whatever might occur, should be transmitted to him from day to day.[k] His brother Giuliano, under less restraint, and accompanied by his friend Agostino Chigi, again visited his native place. The principal incident proposed to be represented was the *Triumph of Camillus*, after his

[j] *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.*

[k] *v. Ibid.*

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his victory over the Gauls. In order to give greater magnificence and novelty to the procession, Lorenzo requested that the pope would permit the elephant and other animals, which had been presented to him by the king of Portugal, to be sent to Florence. This request the pope thought proper to decline as far as respected the elephant, which it was alleged could not, on account of the tenderness of his feet, travel to so great a distance; but the two leopards and the panther were sent, under the direction of the Persian keeper. That these spectacles, besides tending to reconcile the Florentines to their dependent situation, generally concealed some political allusion, has already been observed; and the *Triumph of Camillus* was undoubtedly selected with a particular reference to the late expulsion of the French from Italy. The very recent accommodation of all differences between Louis XII. and the pope had, however, in some degree changed the disposition and views of the Roman court, and although it was not thought absolutely necessary to abandon the subject proposed, and to adopt one of a less hazardous tendency, yet strict admonitions were given that nothing offensive to the French nation, who were stated to be particularly susceptible of such insults, should be allowed to take place. [1]

The

[1] *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.*

The extreme attention paid by the Medici to the acquisition of popular favour and applause is strikingly manifested in the correspondence between Rome and Florence on this occasion. Lorenzo is reminded, that in the *giostra*, or tournaments, which were to take place, and of which great expectations had been formed, he should be particularly cautious in making such choice of his partisans as might ensure his success, so that the honour might rest with the family, as had been usual on former occasions. He is also advised not to rely on the Florentines, but to engage on his party strangers, who had been more accustomed to such exercises; in other words he was to assure himself of the victory before he entered the lists.[m] The prudent advice of his political preceptors, was accompanied by the still more cautious admonitions of his mother Alfonsina, who then resided at Rome, and felt all the solicitude which a fond parent may be supposed to experience, on such an occasion, for an only son. "Your mother has "been informed," says the faithful secretary, who transmitted to Florence the instructions of the Roman court, "that you practise yourself in tilting, "wearing heavy armour, and managing the great "horse, which may in all probability be injurious "to your health. I can scarcely express to you "how

Tournaments.

[m] *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.*

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" how much she is dissatisfied with these pro-
" ceedings. In the greatest distress she has en-
" joined me to write to you on her behalf, and to
" observe to you, that although your ancestors have
" displayed their courage on similar occasions, yet
" you should consider who, and what they were.
" When Piero di Cosmo appeared in a tournament,
" his father, who governed the city, was then liv-
" ing, as was also his brother. At the time Lo-
" renzo exhibited, his father was also in being,
" and he had a brother, Giuliano, the father of our
" most reverend Cardinal; and when the same
" Giuliano tilted, Lorenzo himself governed.
" When your father appeared in the lists, he had
" two sons and two brothers; notwithstanding
" which, he did not escape blame. You are yet
" young, and the magnificent Giuliano and your-
" self (both of you yet unmarried, and he infirm
" in his constitution) are the only support of the fa-
" mily. You cannot, therefore, commit a greater
" errour than by persevering in such conduct; and
" she recommends that you should rather engage
" others in the contest, and stand by to enjoy the
" entertainment; thereby consulting your own
" safety, and preserving the hopes of your family."[n]
How far these remonstrances were effectual it is of little importance to inquire; but they serve to show, with what a habitual solicitude every circumstance was

[n] *v. Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.*

was regarded which could contribute to the support and the aggrandizement of the family of Medici; when even the solicitations of a mother, to prevail on a son to attend to his personal safety, were supposed to be most strongly enforced by such an argument.

The preparation of the apparatus, on this occasion, as far as respected the machinery and decorations of the painter, was intrusted to Francesco Granacci, the same artist who had displayed his talents with so much applause in the service of Lorenzo the Magnificent; and his invention and ability in executing the task imposed upon him is highly celebrated in the records of his art.[o] Besides the furnishing appropriate designs for the cars, standards, dresses, escutcheons, and emblems attending this magnificent spectacle, Granacci erected a triumphal arch opposite to the great gate of the monastery of S. Marco, in a rich and ornamental style of architecture. Several historical pieces finely painted, so as to imitate tablets in *basso relievo*, and elegant statues modelled in clay, gave additional grandeur to this temporary structure, and on the summit of the arch appeared in large characters,[p]

LEONI X. PONT. MAX. FIDEI CULTORI.

On

[o] *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori.* ii. 388.

[p] *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori.* ii. 388. It must, however, be observed,

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On the return of Giuliano de' Medici to Rome, he was accompanied by his nephew Lorenzo, for the purpose of deliberating with the pope and the cardinal de' Medici, on the measures to be adopted for increasing the power and authority of the family, and securing it against those dangers to which it might be exposed, in case it should be deprived of the protection of the pontiff. The cardinal had already made a decisive election, in devoting himself to the church, and from his high station and the influence which he now possessed, he was enabled to lay the foundations from which he hoped to rise to that supreme dignity which he afterwards obtained. It was therefore only in the persons of Giuliano and Lorenzo, that the pope could realize those secular honours, which he considered as necessary to the establishment and aggrandizement of his family. The character and disposition of these near relatives were, however, widely different. Of all the descendants of the Medici, Giuliano seems to have inherited the least of the ambition of his ancestors. Attached to the studies of polite literature,

Deliberations at Rome for aggrandizing the family of Medici.

observed, that Vasari is mistaken both in the year, and the occasion of these rejoicings, which he places in 1513, on the arrival of Leo X. at Florence. The celebration of this festival was in 1514, and Leo did not visit Florence until the end of the year following. The verses sung on this joyful occasion, written by the Florentine historian, Jacopo Nardi, have been preserved in the Canti Carnascialeschi.

terature, and delighted with the society of those men of learning and of talents whom he met with at Rome, he preferred the charms of private life to the exercise of that authority which was within his grasp. The delicacy of his constitution was perhaps an additional motive to the choice which he had made; yet he was not without pretensions to military honours, and had frequently been in arms during the various attempts of the Medici to reestablish themselves in their native place. His nephew Lorenzo had on the contrary, already given sufficient indications of a bold and aspiring mind. Dissatisfied with the administration of the Florentine state, in which he held no ostensible rank, except such as he enjoyed in common with other citizens, he had already begun to estrange himself from the society of the inhabitants, and to devote himself to military exercises, in the hope of being enabled, by the support of the pontiff, either to assume the absolute dominion of his native place, or to obtain an independent sovereignty in some other part of Italy.

Leo X. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples and the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino.

The result of these deliberations appeared in the measures soon afterwards adopted by the pontiff; which have given occasion to the historians of these times to charge him with inconsistency in his designs and conduct, but which, a nearer view of the state of Europe, compared with his own situation, and that of his family, will perhaps sufficiently explain. The character of Leo X. now stood high in

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in the estimation of all the sovereigns of Christendom. Although not of royal descent, he was considered in his own person as the representative of the most respectable family in Europe, that did not assume the insignia of sovereignty. To this was added the dignity of his high office, which entitled him to take the precedence of the proudest monarchs of the time; and these pretensions to superiour respect were strengthened by the active and important part which he had taken in the political transactions of the times. It is true, it had been principally, if not wholly owing to his interference, that the emperour elect and the catholick king had been disappointed in their endeavours to effect the proposed alliance with the crown of France; but Leo had so conducted himself on this occasion, as to retain the favour of those sovereigns, even whilst he counteracted their purposes. By the emperour elect and the Venetian state he had been appointed the arbiter of their differences; and although his decision had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the continual vicissitudes of the war, and the avarice and ambition of the cardinal of Gurck,[q] yet he still

[q] It appears from the private correspondence of the Medici family, that the cardinal wished to obtain 20 or 25,000 ducats from the Venetians, and the dignity of legate from the pope. As this information is derived from the confidential secretary who was employed in this transaction, there can be no doubt of its authenticity. *v. Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.*

still maintained his credit with both parties. The influence which he had acquired in the English councils was apparent on many important occasions, and might be accounted for, not only from the great attachment and respect which Henry yet entertained for the Roman see, but from the earnest desire of Wolsey to ingratiate himself with the pontiff. Of all the European sovereigns, Louis XII. was the prince with whom Leo stood in the most delicate situation; yet Louis was the very potentate whose favour he considered as of greater importance to him than that of any of the rest. He was now fully convinced that it was not in his power to divert the king from his projected expedition against Milan; and as the facilities afforded the king by his new alliance with England, left little doubt of his success, it became a subject of serious deliberation to the pontiff, how he might best counteract the injurious consequences of this measure, or rather how he might convert it to the advantage of himself and his family. For this purpose he turned his views towards the kingdom of Naples, conceiving, that from the advanced age of Ferdinand of Spain, an opportunity would soon be afforded both to Louis XII. and himself, of interfering in its concerns, and perhaps of occupying its government, to the exclusion of the young archduke; for whom it would not in such case be difficult to find sufficient employment in other parts of his widely dissevered dominions. This important acquisition Leo probably destined for his brother Giuliano; whilst

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the state of Tuscany, to which he also hoped to unite the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino, were the intended inheritance of his nephew Lorenzo. By these means the family of the Medici would have enjoyed a decisive superiority over any other in Italy, and by the subsequent union of these territories, which was likely to take place at no distant period, would have held an important rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

Secret alliance between the pope and Louis XII.

No sooner was this ambitious project determined on at Rome, than Leo not only began openly to relax in his opposition to the king, respecting his pretensions on the Milanese, but actually to make representations to him, to prevent his relinquishing his projected enterprise; assuring him that the Spanish army in Italy was greatly diminished in its numbers; that the soldiery were unpaid, the people of Milan wretched and dissatisfied, and that with respect to the Swiss, there was no one who would undertake to subsidize them, and that it was well known they would not move without such an inducement. At the same time he gave the king to understand, that he would exert his influence with Ottaviano Fregoso, to restore the authority of the king at Genoa, where the fortress of the Lanterna was yet in possession of the French. After having thus manifested his dispositions, Leo addressed himself to the cardinal Sanseverino, who was then considered as the agent of the French monarch

narch at Rome,[r] by whose means he proposed to the king, that as the jealousy of other powers would not at this juncture permit them to enter into an ostensible and avowed alliance, it was his desire that they should at least lay the foundation of that future union, which he hoped would ere long be established between them. For this purpose the pope transmitted to the king certain minutes, as heads of a private treaty, on which he requested to know his sentiments. The French monarch in reply, expressed his acknowledgments for the confidence placed in him by the pontiff; but whether some of these propositions were of such a kind as to require long deliberation, or whether any other circumstance prevented the king from returning an earlier answer; certain it is, that he did not send his definitive reply to Rome for the space of fifteen days, or thereabouts. Although this delay may appear inconsiderable, yet from the critical nature of the business, it alarmed the pontiff, who probably conceived, that if Louis disclosed this communication to the emperour elect and the king of Spain, it might draw down upon him their resentment. He therefore availed himself of an opportunity which was at this season afforded him, of renewing his treaties with those sovereigns for the term of a year, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to the mutual defence of their respective

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[r] *Guicciard. Storia. d' Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 74.

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respective states. The reply of the king of France to the proposals of the pope, arrived immediately after the signing these treaties, and the king thereby expressed his entire approbation of the terms of amity offered by the pontiff; suggesting, however, that as one article in the minutes obliged the king to the protection of the Tuscan state, and of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, it would be necessary that they should become parties in the engagement. On the arrival of this answer, the pope excused himself to the king for his apparent precipitancy, in renewing his treaties with the house of Aragon and Austria, the cause of which he attributed in some degree to the unexpected hesitation of the king himself. This apology Louis thought proper to consider as satisfactory, and the convention was agreed on. In order, however, to prevent the terms from transpiring, they were not declared by any publick instrument, but remained in the form of a schedule, under the signature of the respective parties.[s]

Motives of Leo X.

These extraordinary measures are attributed by a great contemporary historian to the artifice and insincerity of the pope, who either conceiving that the king of France would undertake this expedition without his incitement, expected, in case it should prove successful, to secure his favour, or knowing,

[s] *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 75.

knowing, that in the truce which Louis had entered into with the Spanish monarch and the emperour elect, it was stipulated that he should not attack the state of Milan, was desirous of embroiling him with those powers.[t] It may, however, be presumed, that Leo had yet more important objects in view, and that he was at this period sincere in his endeavours to prevail upon the French monarch to make another descent upon Italy. The secret treaty undoubtedly contained some articles favourable to the advancement of the family of the Medici; and Leo might suppose, that if he assisted the king in the accomplishment of so favourite an object as the recovery of Milan, he might in return expect his aid in obtaining the sovereignty of Naples; a proposition to which there is indeed reason to believe that the French monarch had given his express consent.[u] If this great object could have been accomplished, Leo would not only have laid the

[t] *Guicciard. Storia d'Italia lib.* xii. ii. 76.

[u] Guicciardini himself informs us, that the king of Spain was apprehensive and not without reason, that the pope aspired to the kingdom of Naples for his brother Giuliano, *lib.* xii. 74, to which he afterwards adds, "che il Re di Francia "prometteva aiutare il pontefice ad acquistare il Regno "di Napoli, o per la Chiesa, o per Giuliano suo fratello," *lib.* xii. ii. 76. A circumstance which fully explains the conduct of the pontiff, in attempting to prevail on the king of France to hasten his expedition to Italy.

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the foundation of a splendid monarchy in his own family, but would have rescued the most extensive state in Italy, from the opprobrium of a foreign yoke. In sacrificing to this acquisition the dutchy of Milan, he might also perhaps have looked forward to a time when he might be able, by the aid of the Swiss, with whom he still maintained a secret but strict alliance, to repeat the part which he had acted on a former occasion; and thus by liberating Italy from both the Spaniards and the French, to place on the head of his brother the only crown of which that country could boast.

In order to confirm the proposed union between the French monarch and Leo X. it had been further agreed that a family alliance should be formed between them by the marriage of Giuliano de' Medici, with Filiberta, daughter of Philip duke of Savoy, and sister to Louisa, the mother of Francis duke of Angoulême, who succeeded at no distant period to the crown of France by the name of Francis I. This marriage, notwithstanding the important alterations which soon afterwards occurred, was celebrated in the early part of the ensuing year, and although unproductive of any offspring, probably led the way to those future alliances, by which the family of the Medici became so closely connected with the royal house of France, and which all Christendom has had such ample reason to deplore.

But

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But whether the proposed attempt was frustrated by the unexpected hesitation of the king, and the consequent engagements of the pontiff with other powers, or by the reluctance of Giuliano de' Medici to take an active part in so bold and hazardous a transaction; certain it is, that Leo soon relinquished his representations to Louis XII. on this subject, and began to adopt the most decisive measures for the defence of his new possessions in Lombardy, and for defeating the projected expedition of the French monarch against the states of Milan. He therefore gladly availed himself of an opportunity afforded him by the necessities of the emperour elect, Maximilian, of purchasing from that sovereign the city and state of Modena, for a sum of forty thousand gold ducats, subject to a right of redemption in the emperour on repayment of the money, which there was not the slightest probability that he would ever be enabled to reimburse[v] This acquisition was of the utmost consequence to the pontiff, as it opened an uninterrupted communication between the states of the church and the cities of Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza, and in conjunction with those territories, composed a rich and populous district of no inconsiderable extent and importance.

Leo obtains the city of Modena.

In the mean time, the war between the emperour elect, Maximilian, the king of Spain, and the Venetian

[v] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia* x. 108.

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Venetian state, was carried on with great activity; and as the latter was considered as the bulwark of Europe against the Turks, Leo availed himself of the information lately received respecting the successes of the Turkish arms, to attempt once more to effect a reconciliation between the contending powers, well knowing, that if he could detach the Venetians from their alliance with Louis XII. it would either prevent his proposed expedition to Milan, or in all probability frustrate his expected success. To this end he despatched as his legate to Venice the celebrated Pietro Bembo, who still enjoyed the office of his domestick secretary, with directions to exert all his efforts for the purpose of prevailing on his countrymen to listen to such overtures of pacification, as the pope was already authorized on the part of their adversaries to propose.

Leo endeavours to reconcile the Venetians with the king of Spain and the emperour elect.

Legation of Bembo to Venice.

Bembo having undertaken this task, proceeded from Rome towards his native place; and that he might not commit himself by any unguarded expression in a negotiation of so delicate a nature, he, in the course of his journey, reduced into writing the arguments which he judged proper on such an occasion, which he read as a *proposto*, or proposition, from the pontiff to the senate. This singular document yet remains, and throws a strong light on the state of publick affairs, and on the conduct which the pope thought it consistent with his duty or his interest to pursue. After expatiating in ample

ample terms on the services which the pope had sought to render to the republick, the orator adverts to the part which Leo X. had acted in effecting a reconciliation and alliance between France and England, and to the encouragement which he had given to Louis XII. to attempt the conquest of Milan, whence he expected some "advantages might have accrued to the Venetian state." The delay of the king in this long threatened attempt, is attributed to his indifference, or to his weariness of a contest which had involved him in such enormous expense. Under these circumstances, the legate earnestly advises the Venetians to terminate their differences with the emperour elect and the king of Spain, and to abandon their alliance with France; in which case he proposes to them, on the authority of his catholick majesty, that all their continental possessions occupied by their enemies, excepting only the city of Verona, then held by the emperour, should be restored to them; they paying to the emperour four hundred thousand gold florins, or such other sum as the pope should judge reasonable. In directing the attention of the senate to the improbability of their deriving any future benefit from their alliance with France, the legate adduces arguments of a very extraordinary nature. "It may "not only," says he, "be expected, but believed, "that the king of France has relinquished his "attempt upon Italy. Some months have elapsed "since he concluded the treaty with England, at

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" which time he had twenty thousand men in arms
" for this enterprise, and might have engaged in
" it with the consent and favour of the pope, and
" with the reputation acquired by his new alliance.
" At that time he might also have attacked his
" adversaries whilst they were unprepared and
" unwilling to oppose him, as well from other
" circumstances as from their reverence for his
" holiness, who would openly have favoured his
" cause. If therefore he would not engage in this
" attempt, although invited and solicited by the
" pope, how can it be supposed, that he will now
" undertake it, when the Swiss, the Spaniards,
" the emperour, the states of Milan, of Florence,
" and of Genoa, are all united with his holiness to
" oppose him, and are employed in preparations
" for that purpose? Add to this, that he has lately
" married a beautiful wife, who will daily with-
" draw his mind more and more from the concerns
" of war. There are indeed some, who think
" that these nuptials will abridge his days, or rather
" render them very short indeed; considering that
" he is already advanced in years, not remarkable
" for his continence, and devoted to the love of
" this young damsel, who is not more than eigh-
" teen years of age, and the most beatiful and
" attractive woman that has been seen in France
" for many years. In short, he is said to be already
" on the decline, and to have contracted complaints
" which will shortly bring him to the grave."

When

When the legate ventured not only to utter, but to commit to writing such observations as these on so great a monarch, the avowed ally of his master, it is no wonder that he entreated his hearers, "in "the name of heaven, to bury them in eternal se- "crecy." After having exerted all his eloquence in endeavouring to prevail on the senate to accede to his propositions, he proceeds to lay before them in strong terms the consequences of their refusal, which he asserts will infallibly lead to a conclusion of the treaty already in agitation, between the king of Spain, the Swiss, the states of Milan, Genoa, and Florence, and the pope; who would be under the necessity of regarding the Venetians as their common enemy.

The senate refuse to comply with his propositions.

But although this oration has been regarded as a specimen of diplomatick skill and eloquence, it failed to produce the intended effect on the minds of the Venetian senators; nor can it be denied, that in committing topicks of so delicate a nature to the formality of a written composition, the Roman legate acted the part rather of a scholastick rhetor, than of a judicious negotiator. A few days afterwards, Bembo was again admitted into the senate, when a written paper was read to him in reply to his oration, by which, after expressions of respect to his holiness, the senate refuses either to relinquish Verona to the emperour, or to annul their alliance with the king of France. This answer was immediately despatched to Rome by Agostino Beaz-

CHAP. XII. 1514. Æt. 39. Beazzano, a scholar of considerable eminence, who accompanied Bembo on his legation; and Bembo himself soon afterwards followed; but he was so fatigued with his journey, that he was obliged to rest on his return a few days at Pesaro, where he met with his friends Madonna Emilia Pia, and the dutchess Elizabetta, the widow of Guidubaldo da Montefeltro duke of Urbino. Bembo was aware that he might incur the suspicion of having feigned indisposition, that he might enjoy the society of these amiable and accomplished women; but in a letter to the cardinal da Bibbiena, which bears date 1515. the first day of the year 1515, he makes the most solemn asseverations that his illness is not a pretext; and if his assurances were not believed, his delay was excused, by his friends and his patrons at Rome.

Historical mistakes respecting this negotiation.

This embassy of Bembo to the Venetian state, was not only unproductive of those advantages which the pontiff expected to derive from it; but, if we may place implicit confidence in some of the historians of those times it tended to injure the character of the pontiff in the estimation of the French monarch; who is said to have been now fully convinced of the insincerity of the pope, and to have renewed his negotiations with Ferdinand of Spain, preparatory to his intended attack on the the states of Milan. Frequently, however, as this has been repeated as matter of reproach to the pontiff, it may with confidence be asserted, that Louis

Louis was never informed of the result of this negotiation, and consequently that he could not have manifested that dissatisfaction with the conduct of the pope which has been so positively imputed to him.[w] On the very day that Bembo wrote the before-mentioned letter from Pesaro, his prophetick representations respecting Louis XII. were fulfilled by the death of that monarch; which event is also said to have been occasioned by the cause to which Bembo with so much confidence attributed

Death of Louis XII.

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[w] "Ce fut toute la satisfaction qu'il eut de sa négotiation, dont les Vénetiens firent part aussitot au Roi leur Allié. Cette confiance éclaira Louis XII. sur les véritables sentimens d'un pape qui tentoit toutes sortes de voyes pour séduire ses amis, dans le temps qu'il le faisoit assurer qu'il avoit le génie et le cœur tout François. Ce prince résolut enfin de ne plus compter sur lui, qu'en cas qu'il donnât d'autres assurances de sa sincérité que des protestations affectueuses." *Ligue de Cambray, lib.* iv. *tom.* ii. *p.* 375. "Mais le Pape fut obligé de s'expliquer clairement. Pour forcer le pape à le faire, l'homme du Roi se servit de l'envie qu' avoit sa Sainteté de ménager toujours la France. Il lui dit, avec la vivacité & l'énergie Françoise, que Louis XII. prendoit pour rupture & pour marque d'une inimitié irréconciliable le refus d'une réponse à ses propositions. Leon X. portant alors sa main gauche au coûde de son bras droit, & l'élevant, dit qu'il donneroit ce bras pour voir le Roi de France en possession de son héritage, sans qu'il en coûtât une mer de sang à la Chrêtienneté, & il employa les biais les plus subtils des frases Florentines & tous les détours du jargon de Rome pour esquiver, & se défendre de donner une réponse plus formelle," &c. *Ib. p.* 385.

CHAP. XII. 1515. Æt. 40.

attributed it; he having survived his marriage only eighty days. It is not therefore to be supposed, that the purport of a negotiation which only terminated at Venice, towards the end of December, could be conveyed to France prior to the first day of January; much less is it likely, that Louis, when at the point of death, should have had either leisure or disposition to attend to political discussions; and at all events it is wholly impossible, that those subsequent negotiations should have taken place between Louis XII. and the pope, which are related at great length by writers of credit, and have given occasion to severe animadversions on the supposed duplicity and treachery of the Roman pontiff.[x] But as it is difficult to conceive, that the authors referred to can be mistaken on a subject in which they have almost uniformly concurred, it may be necessary further to relate, that on the departure of Bembo from Venice, two envoys were despatched by the senate to the kings of England and of France, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating them on the restoration of peace, and on the alliance which had been so happily established between them. The ambassadour to France was further instructed to assure the French monarch of the invariable fidelity and attachment of the senate to his cause, and to incite him, by every possible effort to send an army into Italy without further

[x] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. *Ligue de Cambray, lib.* iv. *&c.*

further delay; but whilst these envoys were yet on their journey, they received intelligence of the death of the French king, which terminated the chief object of their mission, and obliged them to wait for the instructions of the senate respecting their further destination.[y] Whatever, therefore, might have been the feelings, or the resentment of Louis XII. had he lived to have been informed of the embassy of Bembo, it is sufficiently apparent, that the sarcastick remarks on the conduct of the pontiff, to which this incident has given rise, have been falsely attributed to that monarch, and can only be considered as the fabrication of those who have substituted the fictions of their own fancy for the authentick records of historical truth.

His character.

The latter events in the life of Louis XII. had greatly diminished the glory which he had acquired in the former part of his reign; and the sanguinary and fruitless victories of Ghiaradadda and Ravenna were counterbalanced by the insults and defeats which he suffered from Leo X. and Henry VIII. the former of whom had expelled him from Milan, and the latter had established the English arms in the

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[y] This relation is confirmed by the positive authority of the Venetian historian, Paruta, who adds, "Queste cose "furono à gli Ambasciatori commesse; *ma mentre ancora* "*essi ritrovansi nel viaggio*, il Re Lodovico, soprapreso da "grave infermità, vi lasciò la vita." *Paruta. Hist. Ven. ib.* ii. *p.* 102.

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the midst of his dominions, and reduced him to the necessity of securing, by the stipulated payment of an enormous sum of money, the safety of the rest. That inordinate and blind ambition which sacrifices the peace and happiness of a country to the vain expectation of foreign acquisitions, the attainment of which is often a greater misfortune than the miscarriage of the attempt, is in no instance more to be lamented than in that of Louis XII. who, if he had not been misled by this deplorable frenzy, would indeed have merited the appellation bestowed upon him by his subjects, of the father of his people. Throughout his whole reign no new taxes were imposed in his dominions. He was the first sovereign who secured the peasantry of France from the rapacity of the soldiery, who were before accustomed to plunder them with impunity; and his memory was rendered dear to his country by his edict in 1499, by which he ordered that the law should on all occasions be strictly enforced, notwithstanding any contrary directions which the importunity of individuals might obtain from the sovereign.

His widow marries Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

About two months after the death of the king, his young and beautiful widow married the accomplished Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to whom she is supposed to have been attached before her former marriage, and who attended her to France, although he was not nominated as one of the embassy. Mezerai asserts, that the duke of

of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. caused this English lord to be narrowly watched, lest he should give the king a successour. This second marriage was a cause of great displeasure to Henry VIII. but his sister assuming the blame to herself, and protesting that she had almost compelled the duke to this rash action, the anger of the king was not of long duration. The progeny of this marriage was numerous. Frances, one of the daughters, married Henry Grey, afterwards duke of Suffolk, by whom she became the mother of the accomplished and unfortunate lady Jane Grey, who reluctantly contended with the bigot Mary for the crown of England. The other descendants of the princess Mary, intermarrying with the English nobility, have diffused a portion of the royal blood through many of the principal families in the kingdom.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

Storia d'Italia di Gio. Ant. Summonte. vol. iii. *f.* 551. *cor.* 615.

Petri Summontii Neapolitani.

AUSONIÆ splendor, durisque exercite bellis,
Hector, ab antiquis quem genus ornat avis;
Æquasti veterum qui fortia facta virorum,
Heroi tollens invidiam generis;
I felix, i quære alio sub sole triumphos,
Non datur in patriis nomen habere locis.
Si non Alcides charis migrasset ab Argis,
Non foret Eois notus, et Hesperiis:
Fertur post varios insigni Marte labores
Ferrea Tartareæ janua aperta domus.
Fertur Iasoniæ pubes commissa carinæ,
Ausa maris tumidas prima secare vias.
Cessite Gangaridum, Lenæi gloria, Tellus;
Pelleo et longe Fama petita Duci.

In

In pretio semper nimio peregrina fuere,
Nescio cur, sordent dum sua cuique domi.
Adde quod, et melius translata reponitur arbos:
Tanta est mutati gratia, honosque soli.
I felix, nec te Patria, aut remorentur amici,
Aut de cognato sanguine fidus amor.
Fortibus omne solum Patria est, hos adjuvat ipsa
Virtus, et his cælum, terraque nuda favet.
Prima tibi vicisse pios Victoria amores;
Incipe mox laudes accumulare novas.
Nec tibi deerunt, æternis qui grandia chartis
Facta canant, digna concelebrentque lyra.
Quis neget assiduo renovari sæcula cursu,
Quin meliora potest ducere longa dies.
En sopita diu, surgit tandem inclyta virtus,
Heroesque novos sæcula nostra ferunt.
Æmulus Iliaco, nostris fuit Hector in armis:
Pro decore Italiæ prælia honesta gerens;
Hector, propositæ cessit cui gloria palmæ,
Devictis Gallis nomen in Ausonium.
Nullius hic armis cedat, quoscunque vetustas
Et Graia, et Latia jactat in Historia.
Tempus erit, quo te Dux o fortissime postquam
Sub titulos ierint plurima bella tuos
Te Capua excipiat, spoliisque assurgat opimis
Porrigat et meritis laurea serta comis;
Cum Patres, equitesque et Plebs numerosa merentem,
Deducant Patrii limina ad alta Jovis;
Cum vox omnis Io clamet, geminataque ad auras,
Reddat Io, cum te femina virque canat.
Hoc precor, huic utiman servent me Numina Famæ,
Hæc celeri veniat sydere fausta dies.

NOTE B.

Ex. origin. in Archiv. Reip. Florent.

Reverendiss. Domino Joanni Medicæ Dei gratia Cardinali, ac Legato de Latere, Domino observantissimo. Florentiæ.

DUM animi lætus sum, corporis autem infirmi, jam dicere possum, satis me vixisse arbitror. O quantum gaudium, o quantum refrigerium meum corpus febrizans sensit, dum illa serena facies in patriam restituta fuit. Donum Dei. Perveni unice Reverendiss. Domine quo tendebam, et audebo familiarius loqui; numquam opes, neque dignitates optavi, nisi introitum illum tam felicem, tamque prosperum. Si vera loquor, deus protector testis sit, et vita mea, huc semper omnes curas, omnes vigilias meas verti. Dicam illud Plutarchi ad Troianum Principem, virtuti vestræ gratulor, et fortunæ meæ. Hoc mihi solatium non mediocre peperit, quod illa relegatio injusta, dulcis, et prædilecta in Rempublicam facta sit, in qua Pater divus, pater patriæ Avus, Proavus tam justi, tam pii, et liberales in eam fuerunt. O veri Liberatores, protectores, auctores, divites opum, et predivites ingenii, ut scriptum erat: gloria, et divitiæ in eorum domibus. Ita senuerunt longa serie. Quid plura? Nunc nihil habeo, nisi Deum immortalem precari, ut desiderium, et sensum Reverendiss. D. vestræ ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi proferre liceat. Proinde quid animi restat, ut compos votorum meorum ad plenum sim. Solum manus sanctas dilectas osculem Deo favente, et Arcangelo omnium Angelorum principe. Cupio cum Reverendiss. D. vestro bene vivere, et ad ultimum in ætate longeva mori, et in Republica feliciter valere. Valeat R. D. V. in eo, qui omnia regit, et gubernat, et Servi fidelis memor.

Pridie calend. Septembris M. D. XII.

Reverendiss. Dom.

Vr. Servitor, MICHAEL ANGELUS.
de Antiguardis.

Ar. Sanctæ Reparatæ de Castrocaro.

Io

Io credo unice Reverendiss. Domine provedere quella d' uno, o dua sparviere nidace, et de uno terzollo d' uno pare di cani liprieri, et di dua fanelli. Et quando, quod Deus avertat, bisognassi di cento amici palischi tutti son per fargli andare, dove quella designarà, et el corpo exporre cum le facultà. Come son veramente obligatissimo, pregando V. R. S. me riserbi un loco apresso a quella, come antiquo et fidele servo, et familiare, et dove occurrera andare in omnibus locis *usque ad inferos*.

NOTE C.

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. i. *Ep.* 23.

HENRICO REGI BRITANNIÆ.

ET si ea, quæ de tua religione atque in hanc rempub. nosque ipsos propensa præstantique voluntate, deque tuis plurimis egregiisque virtutibus Episcopus Wigorniensis Legatus tuus quotidie commemorat, mihi per se gratissima jucundissimaque sunt, tamen illa ipsa gratiora etiam & jucundiora efficit ejusdem oratoris probitas, prudentia. virtus, atque is, quo illum amplexus magnopere sum, amor charitasque mea prope singularis. Itaque cum de eo, quæ volo, quæque de Rege præstantissimo magnæque spei adolescente possunt dici libentur exaudio, tum propterea quod ab homine nobis amicissimo & virtute prædito tuæ virtutes prædicantur, uberiorem ea res nostram eam voluptatem facit. Spem enim capio fore, ut quoniam animi tui magnitudinem atque præstantiam, cum egregia in Deum Opt. Max. pietate et in Romanos Pontifices observantia maxime conjunctam & consociatam esse intelligo, & tu de tuis virtutibus uberrimos jucundissimosque fructus, & Christiana respub. de te magnos proventus, egregia incrementa, illustres utilitates sit perceptura. Quam te in cogitationem incumbere

incumbere noctes atque dies decet, ut in ista adolescentia florentique tua ætate, ea fundamenta jacias virtutis & probitatis tuæ, quibus reliqua ætas omnis egregie præclareque nitatur. Quod erit, si in hujus Pontificatus observantia non modo permanebis, sed etiam in dies singulos magis magisque te accendes ad ejus dignitatem, magestatem, gloriam & tuendam, & augendam. Id cum, ut spero, ipse feceris, curabo profecto ego, enitarque ut ea tibi a me ornamenta proficiscantur, quibus lætari facile possis te ejusmodi cogitationes suscepisse. Hæc autem, atque his longe plura, deque mea non solum spe, sed etiam erga te mente, quamquam multa cum oratore tuo egerim, in meas tamen etiam ad te literas partem eorum aliquam facile conjeci, ut tibi ipse omnia de me paterna officia polliceri uberius, & cumulatius posses. Reliquum est ut intelligas, eundem ipsum oratorem tuum, quem tum etiam, cum fortuna leviore nitebamur, unice semper dileximus, nunc, quia is egregiam tibi singularemque operam præstat, a nobis etiam impensius amari; ejus enim & prudentiam atque agendis rebus probitatem cognitam perspectamque habuimus jam inde ab illis temporibus cum is viri clarissimi Patris tui istiusque Regni res negotiaque procurabat summa atque mirifica diligentia: & postea ex adversis ejus turbulentisque rebus, quæ sunt illa tempora consequutæ, magnam molestiam cepimus: utque hominis plane probi & nobis amicissimi ægre molesteque tulimus illam calamitatem. Quas ob res atque caussas omneis cum eum tibi esse charissimum existimem, illud magnopere cupio, ut mea commendatione tibi sit etiam charior, omnibusque in rebus, quæ ad ejus dignitatem pertinebunt, quibus in rebus ei aspirare provehereque illum possit aura studii & favoris tui, quæ quidem res erunt semper plurimæ atque maximæ, & fidem illius erga te & meam in illum benevolentiam charitatemque recordere. Dat. tertio Non. April M. D. XIII. Roma.

NOTE D.

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. *ft.* 50.

Ad Regem Litera Cardinalis Eborum, super Victoria in Conflictu communiter vocato, LA JOURNEE D'ESPERONS, *super Indulto nuper Papæ in manibus Cardinalis Sinagalensis deposito, super Reductione Scismaticorum Cardinalium, & de Imperatore movendo pro Pace cum Venetis.*

PLEASE IT YOUR GRACE,

THE Fifth Day of this Month the *Pooptis Holinis* was advertised from oon Ambassadour of the Florentynes, Resident at the Fransshe Court, upon *Yor Grace* late Conflict with th' Ennymyes of the Churche, and the manner of Your moste Victorious Tryumphe obtenyde against the same; whiche was unto *his Holines* and all odir Your *Grace's* Frendes Lovers and Servaunttes here marvalous grette Joye and Comforthe, and surelie unto your Ennemyes in this Courtt no lesse Paine and Discourage.

Uppon the Morrowe next aftur I went unto the *Cardinall Sinogalen*, desyring him, in *Your Grace's* Name, for to have deliverde unto Me the *Breve*, that *Youre Grace* knowthe of, putt into his keeping for *Yor Highnes* by the Blessed Memorye of *Pope Julye* according to the said Popis Commandement:

He answered me that nodre he is ne ever was of oder mynde but that *Your Grace* shulde have it uppon the accomplishyng of such Conditions as be compriside in the same, which he grauntithe that nowe *Your Grace* most noblie and with moost glorious Victorie hath fullfillide; Albeit he saithe that, because the said *Breve* is of so greate and so weightie Importance, apperteignyng the perpetuall Honour of so Highe and Myghtie a Prince he durste no be so boulde as

as to deliver itt from his Hands unto ony leving Creatour without speciall Commandement yeven unto hym from *Your Grace* in Writing; whiche hade, he saithe he will with all his Hartt and Mynde deliver itt unto Me for *Your Gracis* Bihove and Honour, soo he grauntith that the said *Poope Julie* commaunded hym he praithe *Your Grace* to latt itt be noo otherwise shewide butt that Ye hade the saide Breve in Youre Haundes in *Pope July's* Days, he wolde nott that the *Popis Holines* that nowe is shulde in ony manner knowe the contrary.

And, stonding that *his Holines* hath Confirmyde all such Indulties and Graces as the said *Pope Julie* did Graunte unto *Your Grace*, whereof this said *Breve* is oon and moost of Gravite, Me semyth *Your Highnes* may right honourabilie and condignlie desire of *his Holines* speciall Confirmation of the said *Breve* in more ample manner *under Leade*; whiche I truste verali nodre he will ne convenyently may denye.

I sende unto *Your Grace*, with thies Presenttes, a Lettre from my said *Lorde Cardinall Sinogalen*, writen with his own haunde, uppon his loving contynuyde good Mynde and Woll towards *Yor Grace* in the Premysses.

If it may stonde withe *Your Graces* Pleasour, att convenyent tyme, aftyr your receptt of the said *Breve*, to Yeve unto hym some Promotion more or lesse in recompence of his trewe and feithfull demenour towardis your *said Grace* in this Bihalf, I thinke that nat oonlie it should grettlie redunde unto your Honour, but also reteigne hym evir to contyenewe as oone of *Your Gracis* moste kynd and loving Frendes during his Lyve.

After that thies Newes afforesaide ware dyvulgate in the Citie here, th' Ambassadour of Venyce, being here Resident, desiride Me with grett instance most humblelie to besiche *your Grace* uppon thare bihalfe, that, stoundying

that *th' Emperour* is now presentt with *Your Grace*, ye woll wiche save to move his Majestie for some goode and indifferentt Peace to be establashide betwixt the Same and Them ; He depeeched a Curiour straightlie unto their Signorie with writing uppon this forsaide Ovarthrowe of the Franshmen, and saithe he doubtithe nott but the hoill Signorie woll in all haste possible addresse their Letters towards *Your Grace* of most humble Supplication for the Premysses, supposing veralie that, by reason of *th' Emperiall Majesties* Presence with *Your Highnes*, ye shal set some goode Ordor betwixt Them, and doubtith not, as he said, but that the saide Signorie wol be right tractable thereunto.

Uppon the *Breve* of Confirmation of all such Grauntes as *Pope Julie* had grauntide unto *Your Highnes* sundrie days affore that ye were advertiside thereof from Me ande my Lorde your Oratour here, and in like maner uppon the Restitution of the Scismatiques *Saintt Crossis* and *Saintt Severyne*, I pray *Your Grace* nott to thynke herefore that he shulde in your Causes be more diligent or use better Studie for th' Exspede therof then We do ; well I am assuride that the *said Breve* was graunted and finallie Exspede, save oonlie at the Plombe, Sundrie Days affore that ever he knewe it laboride ; fore as soon as he hade knowlege of it, he corruptid oon of the Secretaries, and gatt of hym a Copie, to th' entent he myght shew unto *Your Grace* his pretendite Diligence and goode Service.

He myght right longe affore have shewide unto *Your Grace* the intendide Restitution of the said Schismatiques ; His Diligence and Labours were moche more seen in bryngyng that matier to pass thenever I did see in hym for ony Cause apperteignyng owdere to *Yor Gracis* Honour or Pleasour.

Thus I shall most hartlie besiche the blesside Trinitie for

for the Preservation of Your moste Highe and Roiall Astate.

From *Rome*, the xiith day of Septembre 1513.
Your moost humble Beedman and Subject.

NOTE E.

Rymer. Fœder. tom. vi. *p.* 53.

LITERA PAPÆ LEONIS AD PACEM HORTATORIA.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem & Aposlicam Benedictionem.

Eis ex Literis, quas ad Nos & quibus ad Dilectum Filium nostrum *Christofphorum Tituli Sanctæ Praxedis Presbiterum Cardinalem* rationes tuas de eo ipso Legato non admittendo perscripsisti, cognovimus animum *Majestatis tuæ* non ita, uti vellemus, deflexum ad Pacem, & a consiliis concordiæ aliquantum abhorrentem; sed tamen ut ex eisdem literis & constantis Regis & Invicti Principis virtus atque animus eluceat; quippe enim Te religione Fœderum & Conjunctorum Regum societate ac concordiâ impediri scribis, quo minus Tibi consilia Pacis seorsum ab illis capias; firma quidem in eo & constans est ratio tua, neque aliter decet Regem Magnanimum & Præstantem, sed neque a Nobis consilium ullum profectum est erga Te ut illis relictis Paci solus studeres. Nos enim evellere ex animo tuo omnes odii atque inimicitiarum aculeos voluimus, ut illis ejectis tanquam in bonum solum sic in sensum tuum Pacis & Concordiæ semina jaceremus: nec tamen Tibi soli hoc persuadere nixi sumus; sed, hortante Nos nostri honoris munere atque officio, Venerabilibus etiam Fratribus nostris, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & ab initio Pontificatûs nostri, & postea sæpe tam in Consistoriis

sistoriis nostris secretoque in Sacri Concilii Lateranensis Sessionibus palam Nos ad hanc curam suscipiendam conficiendæ Pacis vocantibus & obtestantibus, agere cum cæteris quoque Regibus, ad arma si qui spectant, non destitimus, neque verò desistemus, Deique in eo voluntati & Saluti Christiani nominis quantum eniti poterimus, omni & studio et operâ adhærebimus; præsertim cum etiam multorum Regum atque Principum querelæ ad Nos per Literas & Nuncios ipsorum parlatæ sint, ferentium graviter & indignantium has perseverare inter Christianos discordias, non solùm fidei Catholicæ perniciosas, sed ne ipsis quidem qui eas exercent ullo modo utiles.

Quocirca etiam, *Carissime in Christo Fili*, Nobisque in amore & paterna Caritate præcipue adhortamur in Domino & rogamus ut dedere Animum tuum nostris amantissimis Consiliis velis.

Etenim cum illud nobile & gloriosum propositum animi tui, quo ad arma capienda adductus es, ut Libertatem Ecclesiasticam violatam Injuria nonnullorum defenderes, Sedisque Apostolicæ dignitatem ab omni labe vendicares, jam ad exitum perductum sit, hostesque tui numine & tua incredibili virtute, tuorum quoque Confœderatorum Opera, positis animis contumacibus, ad Unitatem Ecclesiæ & erga Nos ac sedem Apostolicam Reverentiam humilis accesserint, est jam tuum gerere inimicitias placabiles, et si tuo Honori satis consultum fuerit, Pacem quoque potius quam Bellum appetere. Illius enim jam tui præstantissimi facti fructus, qui Tibi ex nostra & totius posteritatis prædicatione uberrimi debentur, Tibi sunt & erunt semper paratissimi, nunc, sicut armis invictum Te præstitisti, ita optimis consiliis tractabilem Te ut præbeas, erit non minoris laudis tuæ quam illud fuit gloriæ. Nos quidem, qui & constantiam ac fidem tuam probamus, & virtutem miro amore complectimur, non Tibi suademus quæ contra tuam honestatem sint, ut sine Confœderatorum

rum tuorum consensu Te ad Pacem accedere velimus; sed salvâ Dignitate tuâ and honorificis conditionibus paratis ut animum promptum ad Pacem, si cæteri consenserint, habeas, id rogamus; nec Te ab Illis avellere, sed Te, Nobiscum una, Illos adhortante, causamque Dei & Pacis fovente honestis conditionibus arma ponere animum cæteri ut inducant, Nos aliquid assecuturos speramus; *Majestas quidem tua* si Consilia nostra in eam partem acceperit ad quam diriguntur, seseque ad illa & suas Deliberationes accommodaverit, aget & ex summi Dei Sententia & ex virtute ac humanitate sua.

Datum *Romæ*, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die Decimâ septimâ Decembris, Millesimo quingentesimo decimo tertio, Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.

JA. SADOLETUS.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri.

NOTE F.

Marini, Lettera sopra il Ruolo de' Professori dell' Archiginnasio Romano.

QUOD bonum faustum felixque sit LEONI X. PONTIFICI MAXIMO, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Patribus, Populoque Romano, Dei Optimi Maximi, Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, & Apostolorum Petri & Pauli auspitiis.

Pater amplissimus Raphael Episcopus Ostiensis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Camerarius, Dominicus Jacobatius Episcopus Lucerinus, Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ in alma Urbe Vicarius Generalis, Gymnasii Romani Rector, Antonius Zoccolini, Marius Octaviangeli, Antonius Draco, & Ga-

& Gabriel de Minutulis ejusdem Gymnnasii Reformatores. Cum litteræ omnium fundamenta sint virtutum, illisque teneræ mentis excultæ omnia deinceps offitia facile exequantur, Pontificis Maximi liberalitate, studioque erga literas invitati, ex ejus auctoritate, decretoque bonarum artium, disciplinarumque omnium tam humanarum, quam divinarum in prræsentem annum a Christi natali 1514, a Pontificatu Leonis X. secundo, Professorum nomina proponuntur, quorum industria excitentur ingenia, erudiantur mentes, doctrinæ atque eloquentiæ studia floreant, virtutumque omnium honestissima exercitatio instituatur, Professores ergo, qui inscripti sunt, tertio nonas Novembris negotium suscipiant, meminerintque quantum illis oneris sit impositum, labore industriaque enitantur ut *tali* honore, majoreque in dies præmio digni judicentur. Sciant non litterarum solum, sed morum optimorum, virtutumque Magistros se constitutos, *nihil* a Chistiana Religione alienum doceant. Libertatem ecclesiasticam, auctoritatemque Pontificis Maximi, et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ tutentur, commissumque sibi munus exequantur, neque alium quemvis suum in locum substituant. Statutis diebus, si *per valetudinem* licuerit, legant, legisse Discipuli fidem faciant, si negotium sit, nonnisi potestate per Rectorem facta, munus omittant, secus si fecerint Floren. XX. quotiens cessarint mulctentur. *Præter*. . . . . liceat nemini.

In Theologia de mane.

Flor. 150. Magister Johannes. . . . . Ord. S. Aug.

De sero.

Flor. 150. Magister Nicolaus de *Luna*.

Diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 50. Magister Ciprianus Beneto.

De sero.

Flor. 200. Magister Ant. . . . . .

In jure canonico, de mane.

Flor. 250. Dominus Michael Angelus de Pisis.

Flor.

Flor. 200. Dominus Julius de Stephanutiis.
De sero.
Flor. 230 Dominus Sebastianus de Phedericis.
Flor. 200 Dominus Zaccharias.
Ad Lecturam Decreti.
Flor 130. Dominus Jo. Antonius de Nobilibus,
Flor. 80. Dominus Jo. Baptista Vicentinus.
Ad extraordinariam diebus festis.
Flor. 100. Dominus Franciscus Castellanus.
Flor. 100. Dominus Jacobus de Phara.
Ad Lecturam Sexti.
Flor. 100. Dominus Antonius de Leonibus.
Flor. 100. Dominus Clemens de Cesis.
Ad Lecturam Clementinarum.
Flor. 100. Dominus Philippus Onessus.
In jure civili, de mane.
Flor. 250. Dominus . . . . . de *Sancta* Cruce.
Flor. 200. Dominus Lanceloctus de Senis.
Flor. 120. Dominus Tiberius Manellus.
De sero.
Ducat. a. a. 300. . . . . .
Flor. 150. . . . . .
Flor. 100. Dominus, ... de Sanguineis.
Ad extraordinariam, de mane.
Flor. 100. Dominus *Michael Conradus* de Tuderto.
De sero.
Flor. 80. Dominus Petrus Paulus de Parisis de Cusentia.
Flor. 60. Dominus Petrus Sabinus.
Ad extraordinariam diebus festis, de mane.
Flor. 150. Dominus Marius Salomonius.
Flor. 80. Dominus Julius Cesar.
De sero.
Flor. 70. Dominus S. . . . de Aretio.
Flor. 50. Dominus Silvester S. . . Politianus.
Ad lecturam Institutionum.
Flor. 200. Dominus Pirrho Senen.

Flor.

Flor. 100. Dominus Jubentius.
Flor. 100. Dominus Archangelus de Patritiis.
Diebus festis, de mane.
Flor. 70. Dominus Segismundus Dondolus.
Flor. 70. Dominus Lucas de Perleonibus.
De sero.
Flor. 70. Dominus Evangelista de Goris.
Flor. 50. Dominus Jacobus Carpinus de Firmo.
In Medicina theor. de mane.
Flor. 530. Magister Archangelus de Senis.
Flor. 100. Magister Bonifatius.
Flor. 230. Magister Johannes de Macerata.
Flor. 150. Magister Severinus de Spoleto.
De sero.
Duc. aur. a. 300. Magister Cristoforus.
Flor. 500. Magister Scipio de Lancelloctis.
Flor. 230. Magister Alexander de Spinosis.
Flor. 200. Magister Marius Scapucius.
Deibus festis, de mane.
Flor. 250. Magister Jo. Angelus de Victoriis.
De sero.
Flor. 70. Magister Jacobus de Præpositis.
Flor. 60, Magister R. . . . . lo de Fabriano.
Ad Lecturam Praticæ, de mane.
Flor. 250. Magister Nicolaus de Doxio.
Flor. 230. Magister Jo. Baptista de Verallis.
De sero.
Flor. 400. Magister Bartholomeus de Pisis.
Flor. 150. Magister Joannes de Phara.
In Metaphisica.
Flor. 150. Magister Aug. p. . . . . de Ve . . .
Flor. 100. Magister Michael Angelus de Sanctis,
Ad Lecturam ordinariam Philosophiæ.
Duc. a. a. 300. Magister Augustinus de Sessa.
Duc. similes 200. Magister Johan. de Montes de hoc.
Flor. 100. Magister *Petr.* Nicolaus Cillenius.
Ad extraordinariam.

Flor.

Flor. 130. Magister Bernardinus de Radicibus.
Flor. 130. Magister Sebastianus de Veteranis.

In Philosophia morali.

Flor. . . . . Magister Damianus. . . . . .
Flor. 130. Magister Paulus Jovius.

In Logica.

Flor. 80. Magister *Jordanus* de *Scandrilia*.
Flor. 100. Magister Cesar Manellus.

Diebus festis.

Flor. 60. Magister Cinilius Campallus de Spoleto.
Flor. 60. Magister *Valerianus*.

In Astrologia.

Flor. 100. Magister Petrus de Aretio.

In Mathematica.

Flor. 120. Magister Lucas de Burgo Ord. Minor.
Flor. 70. Magister Antonius de Firmo.

In Rhetorica de mane.

Flor. 300. Dominus Thomas Phedrus.
Flor. 250. Dominus Philippus Beroaldus.
Flor. 250. Dominus Jo. Baptista Pius.
Flor. 250. Dominus Raphael Lippus.
Flor. 250. Dominus Julianus de Camerino.
Flor. 250. Dominus Antonius Amiterninus.

De sero.

Flor. 250. Dominus Baptista de Casalibus.
Ducat. 200. Dominus Janus Parrasius.
Flor. 180. Dominus Gallus.
Flor. 120. Dominus Vicentius Pimpinellus
Flor. 150. Dominus Decius Sillanus.

Diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 150. Dominus Camillus Portius.
Flor. 130. Dominus Joannes Darius Novarien.
Flor. 130. Dominus Donatus.

De sero.

Flor. 50. Dominus Michael de Fulgineo.
Flor. 70. Dominus Desiderius Sabinus.
Flor. 50. Dominus Jo. Julius Siculus.

Flor. 60. Dominus Leonardus *Mantuanus*.
In Græco, de mane.
Flor. 300. Dominus Augustus.
De sero.
Flor. 300. Dominus Basilius.
Diebus festis.
Flor. 300. Dominus Varinus.
Ad declarationem Simplicium Medicinæ.
Flor. 80. Magister Julianus de Fulgineo.
In Gramatica, pro Regione Montium.
Flor. 50. Magister Jacobus de Genezano.
Pro Regione Trivii.
Flor. 50. Magister Jacobus C. . . .
Pro Regione Columnæ.
Flor. 50. Magister Angelus de . . . . . .
Pro Regione Campi Martis.
Flor. 50. Magister Jo. Baptista de . . . . .
Pro Regione Pontis.
Flor. 50. Magister . . . . .
Pro Regione Parionis.
Flor. 50. Magister Jo. Baptista de . . . . . .
Pro Regione Arenulæ.
Flor. 50. Magister Franciscus. . . . . .
Pro. Regione S. Eustachii.
Flor. 50. Magister Andreas . . . . . .
Pro. Regione Pineæ.
Flor. 50. Magister Antonius . . . . .
Pro Regione Campitelli.
Flor. 50. Magister . . . . . .
Pro Regione S. Angeli.
Flor. 50. Magister Angelus . . . . . .
Pro Regione Ripæ.
Flor. 50. Magister . . . . . .
Pro. Regione Transtiberim.
Flor. 50. Magister Julius . . . . . .
Pro Reverendo Domino Rectore, Ducat. auri in auro papales 100.

Pro quatuor Reformatoribus, Ducat. auri in auro papales 100.

Pro Notario Reformationum, Ducat. auri in auro papales 25.

Flor. 100. pro Bidello.

Flor. 25. pro Campana.

NOTE G.

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. *par.* i. *p.* 57.

De Pileo et Gladio Consecratis, ad Regem missis.

Charissime in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

IMITATI vetus Institutum Romanorum Pontificum Prædecessorum nostrorum, cum in proximâ Natalis Dominici Nocte, inter Missarum solemnia, *Ensem* et *Pileum* manibus nostris consecrassemus, ut eo postea munere, uti consuevit fieri, aliquem ex Christianis Principibus de hac Sancta Sede benemeritis donaremus, convertimus cogitationem nostram in tuam præcipuè Majestatem, pro paterna nostra ac singulari in eam benevolentia, proque tuis ac Illustrium Progenitorum tuorum erga ipsam Sedem et Christianam Religionem clarissimis ac testatissimis meritis; Teque tantum ac talem Principem, Sanctæque hujus Sedis ab ipso Deo utrumque Gladium habentis devotissimum Filium, hoc nostro præclaro munere de Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium concilio decrevimus decorandum.

Quod quidem Donum, *Fili Carissime*, non tam Materia quam Misterio prætiosum est; signatur enim hoc Gladio, Unigeniti Dei Filii de inventore mortis ac humani generis hoste victoria, ac Dei infinita potentia in ipso Filio suo, vero Deo et Homine, æquè cum Patre subsistens.

Figurat

Figurat etenim Pontificalis hic Gladius Potestatem summam Temporalem, a Christo, *Pontifici* Maximo, Vicario ejus in Terris collatam.

Pileus verò cum Ense iccircò conjungitur, ut eo, veluti Galeâ quadam Salutis assumpto, assiduus intrepidusque Propugnator adversus inimicos Fidei et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ protegaris, et armetur caput tuum Spiritus Sancti gratiâ, qui per columbam margaritis ornatam significatur.

Suscìpe igitur, *Carissime Fili*, Munus hoc Sacrum Regiâ tuâ Animi magnitudine ac præstanti virtute dignissimum; accipe manu istâ bellicâ *Ensem Bellicum*; hoc Tu felicissimis auspiciis bella geres, hostes fidei nostræ subiges, Christianæ Reipublicæ fines ac Imperium propagabis; tunc Te, *Princeps fortissime*, animum decet advertere ad tantum decus, tantum meritum, etiam ante alios evolare, contra Infidelium rabiem tuæ Militiæ facinora excercere, primitias virium, roboris, ætatis, Deo Optimo Maximo consecrare, ut in Prœliis per hoc munus cœlesti auxilio fretus celebres referas ex Christi hoste Triumphos, pace verò deinde partâ idem Tibi munus perpetuo sit decori atque ornamento.

Quod ut Tibi gratius esset, mittimus illud per Dilectum Filium *Leonardum de Spinellis* Affinem ac Familiarem nostrum, Nobis admodùm gratum, ut Personæ auctoritas gratiam muneris augeat, et simul ut *Majestati tuæ* intimam nostram erga Te charitatem et benivolentiam coram uberius ostendat.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die Prima Martii M. D. xiii. Pontificatûs nostri Anno Primo.

Ja. Sadoletus.

Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri.

Note

NOTE H.

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. *part.* 1. *p.* 86.

SERENISSIME *et Gloriosissime Rex et Domine, Domine Observantissime, humillimas Commendationes præmissas.*

Indies *Majestas vestra* reddidit me dignitatibus et muneribus obnoxiorem; accepi nuper a Magnifico Equite *Griffitho Don* præsentium Latore, nomine *Majestatis vestræ*, literas humanissimas, et duos Equos optimos, regiis ornamentis instratos; Donum profectò insigne et mihi gratissimum, tùm præstantiâ Equorum tùm vel maximè quòd a *Majestate vestra* missum erat; Cui ago ingentes gratias, et si quando dabitur occasio referam et me humillimè etiam atque etiam commendo: quæ felicissime valeat.

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico, die tricesimo Octobris M. D. XIV.

Excellentissimæ Majestatis vestræ

Humillimus Servitor,

Dors. JULIANUS DE MEDICIS.

Serenissimo et Gloriosissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Henrico, Regi Angliæ, Franciæque ac Domino Hyberniæ Observandissimo.

NOTE I.

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. *p.* 74.

Litera Regis Francorum ad Th. Wolsey Elect. Eboracensem.

Monsieur d'Jorci,

POUR ce que j'ay sceu Retour de ce Porteur pur dela, je ne l'ay voulu lasser partir sans vous porter Lettres de Moy.

Et

Et par icelles Vous prier & affectueusement que Vous vueillex faire mes bonnes & Cordialles Recommandacions aux *Roy* & *Rayne* mes bonnes Frere & Sœur & aussy a la *Royne ma Femme*.

En vous priant, en oultre, tenir main a ce que ma Femme parte de la le plus tost que faire se pourra,

Car il n'y a Chose en ce Monde que tant je desire que de la veoir & me trouver avecques Elle,

Et, en ce faist, Vous me ferez plaisir, & m'obligerez de plus en plus a vous.

Priant Dieu *Monsieur d'Jorci* qu'il Vous ait en sa Sainte Garde.

Escript a *Estampes* le Second Jour de Septembre.

Loys.

Robertot.

Dor.

A Monsieur d'Jorci.

Ejusdem ad Eundem. p. 81.

Monsieur d'York Mon bon Amy.

J'AY puis n'aguieres receu la lettre que Vous m'avez escripte.

Et par le contenu d'icelle entendu la bonne et parfaicte voulonte, que vous avez non soullement a l'entretenement de la bonne Paix et mutuelle Amytie d'entre *le Roy* mon bon Frere et Cousin *et Moy*, maiz a l' augmentacion et accroissement d'icelle, et de noz Honneurs et Estatz.

Dont

Dont tant et si affectueusement que Je puis Je vous mercye.

Et vous prie, *Monsieur d'York Mon bon ami*, en croye fermement qu'el n'y a amytie ne allience en la Christiente que tant ne plus Je tiengne chere, que Je faitz et vueil faire tant que Je viuray, celle de mon dit bon Frere et Cousin, esperant, par vostre bon moyen trouver tousjours en Luy pareille Correspondance.

Et quant a ce que m'escripuez de la traduction et venue par deca *de la Royne* ma Femme, Je Vous mercye de la paine que Vous prenez pour l'appareil des choses qui sont requises et necessaires pour sa dite venue, et de l'extresme diligence que Vous y avez faict et faictes, ainsi que *le Seigneur de Marigny et Jehan de Paris m'ont* escript.

Vous priant continuer et l'abreger le plus que vous pourrez, car le plus grant desir que j'aye pour leure presente est de la veoyr deca la Mer, et Me trouver avecques Elle, par quoy en ce faisant et ny perdant temps, comme Vous le m'escripuez, vous Me ferez singullier plaisir, et tel quel ne sera jamaiz que j'en aye souvenance et obligacions envers Vous.

Et, quant a ce qu'avez retenu avecque vous le dit *Seigneur de Marigny et Jehan de Paris*, pour ayder a dresser le dite appareil *a la Mode de France*, Vous m'avez fait plasir en ce faisant, et presentement leur escrips que non seullement ilz Vous obeissent en cela, maiz en toutes autres choses que Vous leur commanderez, et tout ainsi qu'ilz feroyent a ma propre parsonne.

Et, au regart du plasir, que dictes par vos dites Lettres, que ma dite Femme a pris d'avoyr ouy de mes bonnes nouvelles, et que la chose, que pour le Jourduy plus Elle desire et souhaite, est de Me veoyr et estre en ma Compaignie,

Je

Je Vous pris, *Monsieur d'Yorc Mon bon Amy*, Luy dire de par Moy, et Luy faire bien entendre, que mes desirs et souhaitz sont pareilz et semblables aux siens ; Et, que puis quel n'est possible que Je la voye si tost que Je dessire, que Je Luy prie qu'elle me face savoir de ses nouvelles le plus souvent que faire se pourra, et Je feray le semblable de Mon couste.

Au surplus, en tant que touche les tresaffectueuses et trescordialles recommendacions que Vous avez faictes a mon dit Frere et Cousin da ma part, et celles que de la sienne Vous Me faictes, Je l'en mercye de tout mon cueur, et vous prie derechef les Luy faire, et aussi Me faire primerement entendre s'il y a aucune chose en mon Royaume ou il preigne plaisir, et je metray paine de Luy en complaire.

Au demeurant j'ay veu ce que Vous avez escript a mon Cousin *le Duc de Longueville ;* sir quoy Je luy ay ordonne Vous faire responce telle que verrez, Je Vous prie y adjouster foy ; et Me faire savoyr de voz Nouvelles le plus souvent que possible sera, et Vous Me ferez plaisir si grant que plus ne pourriez.

Priant Dieu, *Monsicur d'Yorc*, *Mon bon Amy*, que vouz ayt en sa garde.

Escript a *Paris* le jour de Septembre.

LOYS.
ROBERTET.

Dor.
A Monsieur d'Yorc Mon bon Amy.

he last date stamped

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